

## Modelli interpretativi e pluralità di metodi in esegesi\*

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Il dato ermeneutico più significativo dell'attuale situazione degli studi biblici è indubbiamente rappresentato dal sorgere di nuove metodologie di ricerca, che vengono presentate, di volta in volta, come complementari o sostitutive dell'esegesi storico-critica. È questo un fatto che viene riconosciuto necessario e ricco di prospettive per lo sviluppo della ricerca biblica<sup>(1)</sup>. Nessuno però può nascondersi le difficoltà legate alla situazione che si va creando.

Nella storia dell'esegesi si possono individuare altri due momenti, in cui ci si trovò di fronte a difficoltà altrettanto grandi e, per certi versi, simili. Il primo di questi momenti coincide con la nascita della scolastica, il secondo con il sorgere del metodo storico-critico. Il primo portò all'articolazione autonoma e pluralistica dei diversi ambiti teologici, ma segnò pure l'inizio di una frattura tra esegesi e teologia. Il secondo rappresentò il passaggio all'esegesi come scienza, ma comportò pure una contrapposizione tra un'esegesi di carattere razionalistico e un'esegesi legata, spesso in posizione subordinata, al dato dogmatico. Solo in tempi recenti questi contrasti, esterni ed interni all'esegesi, possono dirsi in qualche modo superati.

Lo spettro delle disavventure del passato incombe sulla svolta dell'oggi. Nuovi pericoli si affacciano di fronte all'esegesi, chiamata oggi a confrontarsi con le nuove scienze della linguistica, della letteratura, dell'antropologia, della psicologia, della sociologia, ecc. Il pericolo più evidente è che l'esegesi si frantumi in tante metodologie parallele, ciascuna in opposizione alle altre, ciascuna rivendicante a sé l'accesso al significato e l'assolutezza della strada per raggiungerlo. Si profila l'immagine di una ricerca esegetica articolata in tanti cana-

\* Questo saggio sviluppa alcune considerazioni brevemente presentate in: G. BETORI, *Perseguitati a causa del Nome. Strutture dei racconti di persecuzione in Atti 1,12-8,4* (AnBib 97; Rome 1981) 147-150.

(<sup>1</sup>) Cfr. ad es. P. GRELOT, «L'exégèse biblique au carrefour», *NRT* 98 (1976) 416-434, 481-511.

li tra loro incomunicabili. Alla contrapposizione tra esegesi e teologia, o tra esegesi scientifica ed esegesi dogmatica, si sostituirebbe la contrapposizione tra diversi modelli di esegesi scientifica.

Al fine di superare tale pericolo, per giungere a ciò che Ricoeur chiama «l'entrecroisement des méthodes»<sup>(2)</sup>, si moltiplicano gli studi che o accostano tra loro le diverse metodologie<sup>(3)</sup>, o tentano già di fondere spunti metodologici diversi in un progetto d'analisi unitario<sup>(4)</sup>. È chiaro tuttavia che il problema del collegamento tra le diverse metodologie non può essere risolto con la semplice giustapposizione di esse; come è pure chiaro che la fusione tra elementi metodologici di origine diversa non può essere guidata dal semplice principio dell'utilità. Ciò che in ogni caso deve essere a monte è un progetto ermeneutico. In altre parole, il rapporto tra le diverse metodologie non può essere risolto se non in riferimento ad un preciso quadro ermeneutico. Il metodo infatti non è quel puro strumento operativo che spesso si è tentati di credere che sia. Ogni assetto metodologico è invece il riflesso di un orientamento ermeneutico.

Le considerazioni che seguono vogliono portare un contributo alla chiarificazione di questo rapporto. Non ne sono una proposta di soluzione generale. Qui viene infatti analizzato un solo aspetto, anche assai limitato, dell'intera problematica. Una soluzione globale del

(2) P. RICOEUR, «Esquisse de conclusion», in R. BARTHES-P. BEAUCHAMP (e altri), *Exégèse et herméneutique* (Paris 1971) 287.

(3) Cfr. ad es. H. HARSCH-G. VOSS (ed.), *Versuche mehrdimensionaler Schriftauslegung. Bericht über ein Gespräch* (München 1972); G. FOHRER-H. W. HOFFMANN (e altri), *Exegese des Alten Testaments. Einführung in die Methodik* (UTB 267; Heidelberg 1973); F. BOVON-G. ROUILLER (ed.), *Exegesis. Problèmes de méthode et exercices de lecture* (Neuchâtel/Paris 1975); A. VANEL (ed.), *L'Ancien Testament. Approches et lectures. Des procédures de travail à la théologie* (Paris 1977); A.-L. DESCAMPS-S. GARCIA-BARDON (e altri), *Genèse et structure d'un texte du Nouveau Testament. Étude interdisciplinaire du chapitre 11 de l'Évangile de Jean* (Lectio Divina 104 / BCILL 20; Paris / Louvain-La-Neuve 1981).

(4) Cfr. ad es. R. KIEFFER, *Essais de méthodologie néotestamentaire* (ConBNT 4; Lund 1972); K. BERGER, *Exegese des Neuen Testaments. Neue Wege vom Text zur Auslegung* (UTB 658; Heidelberg 1977); W. EGGER, *Nachfolge als Weg zum Leben. Chancen neuerer exegetischer Methoden dargestellt an Mk 10, 17-31* (ÖBS 1; Klosterneuburg 1979); J. KREMER, «Gli ultimi sviluppi di metodologia neotestamentaria presentati su 2Cor 3, 6b», in J. KREMER-L. ALONSO SCHÖKEL (e altri), *Per una lettura molteplice della Bibbia* (Bologna 1981) 13-39.

problema resta ancora lontana, e le suggestioni più interessanti al riguardo restano ancora quelle offerte da Paul Ricœur<sup>(5)</sup>.

Modello originario o modello logico?

L'aspetto del problema che qui si vuole considerare è quello legato all'utilizzazione di un modello come strumento d'analisi di un testo. Il problema appare in tutta la sua evidenza quando si ha a che fare con testi che manifestano una certa parentela letteraria tra loro.

La risposta che l'esegesi storico-critica offre è quella di individuare dietro il rapporto letterario un rapporto di dipendenza storica: «Wo wir wissen, dass eine literarische Beziehung zwischen uns vorliegenden texten besteht . . . , da kann die Berücksichtigung dieser Beziehung bei der Auslegung des abhängigen Teils nur dazu dienen, die Besonderheit der Aussage in ihrer Abweichung von der Vorlage besser zu verstehen»<sup>(6)</sup>. Si dà dunque un testo che funge da modello e un altro, o altri, che da quello derivano, distaccandosene in parte attraverso modifiche, alterazioni, omissioni, aggiunte, ecc. Dove si verifica una parentela letteraria deve perciò porsi, a parere dell'esegesi storico-critica, un problema di parentela storica: quale tra i testi dati è il testo «originario», da cui gli altri derivano? oppure, quale testo «originario», ora scomparso, è il modello comune, da cui sono storicamente derivati i testi «apparentati» che possediamo?

La domanda, sempre secondo l'esegesi storico-critica, non è limitata ai testi che presentano una parentela letteraria. Essa si estende ad ogni testo: «Um einen biblischen Text wirklich zu verstehen, ist es unumgänglich, hinter seine jetzige Gestalt überlieferungsgeschichtlich zurückzufragen, d.h. nach seinen Vorstufen zu suchen»<sup>(7)</sup>. Che dietro alla forma attuale del testo si ricerchi poi una fonte scritta o una tradizione orale è del tutto secondario da un punto di vista ermeneutico. Ciò che conta è che l'interpretazione di un testo viene fatta dipendere dal rapporto che questo testo ha con un modello che

<sup>(5)</sup> Cfr. in particolare i contributi di P. RICOEUR in *Exégèse et herméneutique*, e in *Exegesis*. Si veda inoltre P. RICOEUR, «Biblical Hermeneutics», *Semeia* n. 4 (1975) 27-148.

<sup>(6)</sup> O. KAISER-W. G. KÜMMEL-G. ADAM, *Einführung in die exegetischen Methoden* (München 1969) 44.

<sup>(7)</sup> K. KOCH, *Was ist Formgeschichte?* Neue Wege der Biblexegese (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1967) 66.

lo precede nel tempo. È nel modello la chiave ermeneutica del testo.

L'interrogativo che a questo punto ci si pone, e che è necessario porre all'esegesi storico-critica, può essere così formulato: da dove il modello trae questa sua capacità ermeneutica? Le possibili risposte si riducono, in ultima analisi, a due: dal suo carattere «originario» rispetto al testo in esame; ovvero, dal suo carattere di «modello» rispetto a quel testo. La prima risposta, condivisa dall'esegesi storico-critica, fa del carattere storico dell'analisi il fondamento della sua capacità esplicativa. È la genesi la chiave dell'interpretazione, dal momento che la natura di una realtà, e quindi di un testo, sta nelle modalità con cui è venuta alla luce. La seconda risposta, la sola accettabile nel quadro ad esempio di un'analisi strutturale, vede invece nel modello solo uno strumento per far emergere le particolarità del testo. Che queste particolarità siano varianti introdotte in tempi successivi nel testo, o che invece lo siano in rapporto ad un modello anche fittizio, ma che rende possibile il confronto fra due logiche testuali, è un fatto secondario. Ciò che importa, infatti, è la possibilità offerta, dal confronto dei testi, di individuare la logica del testo da analizzare.

Solo nell'ambito di questa seconda ipotesi è possibile soddisfare all'esigenza che ci siamo posti, di offrire elementi per un quadro ermeneutico che sia capace di accogliere una pluralità di metodologie. Infatti, se si riconosce valore interpretativo al carattere genetico del modello, si viene ad escludere ogni metodologia che prescinde dal fattore storico, quella legata alla prospettiva strutturalista per prima. Ma se si può dimostrare la fondatezza della seconda risposta, allora il campo delle possibilità metodologiche si allarga, senza escludere, e questo è importante, le metodologie di carattere storico. Che il modello sia originario o no diventa un fatto relativo, ma proprio per questo l'uso di un modello originario, in funzione però logica, non è escluso.

Sorge quindi la necessità di dare fondamento all'ipotesi secondo cui il valore interpretativo del modello risiede nel carattere logico del modello stesso. È quanto cercheremo ora di fare, restringendo tuttavia il campo di indagine dai testi in genere ai testi di carattere narrativo, più specificamente ai racconti. Il restringimento del campo, mentre aiuta a focalizzare meglio l'argomentazione, non impedisce poi un allargamento dei risultati cui si giungerà ai testi in genere, ovviamente attraverso le debite mediazioni e i necessari adattamenti.



## La logica del racconto

Il problema del modello interpretativo, nel caso del racconto, si apre a due livelli di difficoltà. Il primo è quello che abbiamo già visto per i testi in genere. Il confronto che si può ad esempio stabilire tra due racconti che presentano due versioni di un medesimo fatto consiste, nella prospettiva dell'esegesi storico-critica, nell'individuazione del racconto più antico da cui l'altro o ambedue dipendono. Che senso ha questo riandare indietro nel tempo, alla ricerca di un filo conduttore della storia della formazione del testo? La risposta a questa domanda non può essere univoca. La finalità infatti della ricerca, e quindi la sua utilità, non è una e una sola. Di finalità se ne possono indicare almeno due. La prima riguarda il versante storico della ricerca; la seconda quello propriamente interpretativo.

Possiamo infatti accostarci ai testi come a testimonianze di un certo ambiente storico. Di questo essi sono espressione e grazie ad essi noi possiamo ricostruirlo e caratterizzarlo. Il confronto tra testi fra loro dipendenti ci illustra mutamenti ed evoluzioni che, lungo un determinato periodo di tempo, possono essere intervenuti a livello ideologico, sociologico, psicologico, istituzionale, ecc. in quell'ambiente. Al fine di ricostruire i caratteri di questo ambiente e la sua storia, il ricorso alla storia dell'evoluzione dei testi è un fattore essenziale. In questo caso è ovviamente proprio il carattere storico del modello originario ciò che favorisce l'individuazione di tali elementi.

Il carattere storico del modello originario diventa fattore decisivo anche per un altro tipo di ricerca, che si ricollega pure alla sfera dei problemi storici. Si tratta della ricerca che concerne l'oggettività della narrazione storica. È chiaro che, se si tratta di stabilire l'attendibilità di un certo racconto, il confronto che è possibile istituire con un testo anteriore diventa significativo proprio in quanto l'anteriorità, l'originarietà permette di individuare quegli scarti espressivi che si allontanano dal fatto narrato, come sue reinterpretazioni o addirittura falsificazioni.

Ma, in ambedue i casi considerati, l'uso del modello originario non apporta alcunché alla comprensione del racconto stesso. Ciò che viene in tal modo chiarificato è solo il rapporto tra il racconto e la storia, sia essa la storia dell'ambiente in cui il racconto si è formato, sia essa la storia, l'avvenimento storico di cui il racconto parla. L'individuazione del rapporto è rivolta a precisare i caratteri di questi

due fenomeni storici. Il testo, il racconto è visto essenzialmente come tramite che conduce alla percezione di questi fenomeni. Il testo in sé non interessa, è solo uno strumento.

Resta così appurato che il carattere storico di un modello ha sì un valore interpretativo, ma non nei riguardi del testo, bensì nei riguardi dei fenomeni storici che sono dietro il testo. Grazie ad esso si può rispondere alla domanda: come è nato il testo? e alla domanda: quale obiettività si può riconoscere al testo? Rimane ancora da stabilire se con esso si risponde anche alla domanda: cosa vuol dire il testo?

L'esegesi storico-critica risponde affermativamente a questo interrogativo. Ma quando essa propone il carattere storico del modello come fattore interpretativo non solo della storia ma anche del testo, dietro questa posizione appare la convinzione che il modello ultimo, su cui alla fine si fonda il confronto, non è un «proto-racconto», ma l'avvenimento stesso che viene raccontato, il fatto nelle modalità del suo puro accadere. L'interpretazione del testo si attuerebbe appunto nel filtrare il testo stesso attraverso gli elementi costitutivi del fatto che esso narra. Il confronto tra le diverse versioni dell'avvenimento tenderebbe appunto a stabilire questo schema fattuale soggiacente, con cui poi ogni singolo testo andrebbe confrontato, per far emergere le sue caratteristiche e quindi il suo significato. Questo modello ultimo di riferimento sarebbe dunque «il fatto in sé». Come tale esso avrebbe la precedenza su qualsiasi modello interpretativo di carattere logico, dal momento che «tra i fatti e le parole, la precedenza va data ai fatti»!

Questo tentativo dell'esegesi storico-critica di riaffermare il primato dell'analisi genetica nella ricerca interpretativa sembra a prima vista vincente. Non c'è dubbio infatti che, se risultasse possibile stabilire il confronto avendo come termine di riferimento il fatto in sé, non si potrebbe pensare ad alcuna rivalsa da parte di un modello logico. Ma ciò che è necessario provare è che sia possibile enucleare il fatto in sé.

Sono gli stessi storici a metterci in guardia contro questa pretesa, quando ad esempio affermano che "l'historien ne peut appréhender quoi que ce soit du passé, fût-ce le «fait» le plus élémentaire, le plus simple, le plus objectif... sans le «qualifier»" <sup>(8)</sup>. Lasciamo la

<sup>(8)</sup> H.-I. MARROU, *De la connaissance historique* (Paris 1954) 146s.

parola ad un epistemologo: «Non ci sono fatti storici al di fuori delle teorie, così come non ci sono (e non ci possono essere) riprese fotografiche che non siano state scattate da una certa posizione. Il feticismo ottocentesco empiristico-positivistico per i fatti storici è il gemello del mito baconiano dell'induzione... I fatti storici, insomma, cioè i fatti di cronaca, in una spiegazione storica sono ciò che in una teoria o spiegazione fisica sono i dati dell'esperienza e dell'osservazione. E come qui, anche in storiografia i fatti risultano sempre fatti pertinenti con le leggi e teorie. Sono queste in realtà, che comandano il nostro approccio ai fatti... Non ci sono i fatti (la cronaca) e poi le spiegazioni e le interpretazioni (storia); i fatti sono i fatti di una teoria; le teorie selezionano e servono a spiegare certi fatti»<sup>(9)</sup>.

Se accogliamo queste osservazioni, dobbiamo concludere che, se il fatto in sé esiste, esso tuttavia è percepibile dalla conoscenza umana solo all'interno di una prospettiva, di una logica che non appartiene al fatto, ma che gli è donata dall'uomo. Non esiste dunque un proto-schema fattuale che la ricerca storica deve rivelare, per costituirlo modello di riferimento della comprensione del testo che a quei fatti si riferisce. È invece il pensiero-linguaggio che dà una struttura alla realtà. Il che significa, in altre parole, che ogni modello è un modello «logico».

Non essendo possibile pensare all'esistenza di un «modello originario fattuale», ridotto il valore del «modello originario storico» alle finalità puramente storiche, non resta che riconoscere al «modello logico» la capacità ermeneutica in ordine alla comprensione del testo. Anche il «modello storico», quando viene utilizzato a fini ermeneutici, assolve questo ruolo in virtù delle sue componenti logiche.

Ma è possibile individuare il modello logico che sottostà ad un determinato racconto? e quale è la sua natura? Continuiamo a porci queste domande non in modo generico, ma in riferimento a quei testi che abbiamo definiti come racconti. Essi rappresentano un genere letterario con cui si cerca di trasmettere non tanto verità astratte, ma una serie di eventi concreti. Il racconto è una modalità letteraria del fare storia.

<sup>(9)</sup> D. ANTISERI, *La filosofia del linguaggio*. Metodi, problemi e teorie (Brescia 1973) 192s. Dello stesso autore si veda il recente: *Teoria unificata del metodo* (Padova 1981).

Nel caso dei racconti biblici, ci si trova di fronte ad un fare storia del tutto particolare. Il racconto biblico ha infatti come oggetto l'emergere della salvezza nella storia, ed è quindi una «storia della salvezza». Dal momento che l'ottica con cui viene letta questa storia è l'ottica della fede, il racconto biblico viene a costituire un tipo particolare di storiografia, che può essere definita «storiografia teologica»<sup>(10)</sup>.

Seppure «teologica», resta però sempre una «storiografia». La domanda allora sulla possibilità e sulla natura di un modello logico diventa una domanda sulla esistenza o meno di modelli interpretativi logici in storiografia.

Una risposta negativa sembrerebbe imporsi, a partire da una serie di luoghi comuni, legati ai concetti di «unicità dell'evento storico» e di «storia come oggettiva registrazione del passato», concetti introdotti nella cultura moderna dalle filosofie di tendenza rispettivamente idealista e positivista.

Ma è davvero impossibile sfuggire all'idealismo e al positivismo? Oppure la riflessione filosofica contemporanea offre nuove soluzioni al riguardo?

Una risposta andrebbe cercata attraverso un'analisi globale del pensiero contemporaneo. L'impresa travalicherebbe i confini di un saggio. Ci si limiterà qui ad interrogare tre qualificati rappresentanti del pensiero contemporaneo, espressione di tre diversi ambiti culturali, impegnati in tre diversi settori del sapere.

#### H.-I. Marrou: Domande e risposte

Ci rivolgiamo anzitutto all'ambito culturale francese e ci poniamo all'ascolto di uno storico: Henri-Irénée Marrou. Egli merita la nostra attenzione anzitutto come «uomo del mestiere», che non si è limitato tuttavia alle sue ricerche storiche, ma ha cercato di far chiarezza su quei problemi di «teoria della conoscenza» e di «filosofia critica della storia», che sono legati ai procedimenti metodologici da cui nasce la storiografia<sup>(11)</sup>.

In questa sua riflessione, Marrou intende reagire contro l'ottuso positivismo di molti storici: «Pour eux, l'histoire c'est du Passé,

<sup>(10)</sup> Cfr. G. BETORI-P. MARIOTTI, «Storiografia teologica: un'applicazione del modello Popper-Hempel», *La Nuova Critica* n. 24 (1970/71) 48-60.

<sup>(11)</sup> Nostro punto di riferimento sarà la notissima opera: *De la connaissance historique*, cfr. n. 8.

objectivement enregistré, plus, *hélas!*, une intervention inévitable du présent de l'historien»<sup>(12)</sup>. Contro questa ottusità metodologica, Marrou reagisce con le parole di R. Aron: «Il n'existe pas une réalité historique, toute faite avant la science, qu'il conviendrait simplement de reproduire avec fidélité»<sup>(13)</sup>. Con lo stesso Aron, Marrou si premura di riaffermare che «la théorie précède l'histoire»<sup>(14)</sup>. Questo accade perché «l'histoire est la relation, la conjonction, établie, par l'initiative de l'historien, entre deux plans d'humanité, le passé vécu par les hommes d'autrefois, le présent où se développe l'effort de récupération de ce passé au profit de l'homme, et des hommes d'après»<sup>(15)</sup>.

In questo incontro tra passato e presente dell'uomo, emerge l'attività dello storico, che stabilisce la relazione. Si può così affermare che «l'histoire est le résultat de l'effort, en un sens créateur, par lequel l'historien, le sujet connaissant, établit ce rapport entre le passé qu'il évoque et le présent qui est le sien»<sup>(16)</sup>.

Il modo con cui si esplica questa attività creatrice dello storico, che è la storia, è tutto incentrato attorno alla nozione di «domanda»: «l'histoire est la réponse... à une question»<sup>(17)</sup>. Marrou può così affermare che «tout le développement ultérieur de la recherche et la connaissance elle-même à laquelle on aboutira se trouvent orientés et prédéterminés par les questions posées»<sup>(18)</sup>. Logica conseguenza di tutto ciò, è che a diverse domande poste corrisponderanno diverse prospettive storiche: «chaque époque, chaque milieu humain, chaque objet historique soulève toujours une pluralité de problèmes, et, logiquement parlant, est susceptible de se prêter à une infinité de questions. La connaissance que l'historien en acquerra dépendra évidemment de celle ou de celles qu'il choisira d'approfondir et ce choix à son tour sera directement fonction de sa personnalité, de l'orientation de sa pensée, du niveau de sa culture, de la philosophie générale enfin qui lui assure ses catégories mentales et ses principes

<sup>(12)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 53.

<sup>(13)</sup> R. ARON, *Introduction à la philosophie de l'histoire. Essai sur les limites de l'objectivité historique* (Paris 1938) 120.

<sup>(14)</sup> MARROU, *De la connaissance historique*, p. 93.

<sup>(15)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 37.

<sup>(16)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 55.

<sup>(17)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 60.

<sup>(18)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 63.

de jugement»<sup>(19)</sup>. Non solo la storia che io individuo dipende dalle domande che io pongo, ma queste stesse domande non sono altro che il frutto di ciò che io sono.

Sono dunque le categorie mentali dello storico che, diventate domande, costituiscono la «griglia di lettura» del fenomeno. Ed ecco infatti che Marrou, dopo aver illustrato la dimensione problematica della storiografia, viene a presentarci una concezione della «spiegazione storica» che procede in questa direzione.

Dopo aver analizzato l'uso che lo storico fa dei concetti<sup>(20)</sup>, Marrou nega che il dato su cui si esercita la ricerca dello storico sia un insieme di fenomeni confusi e indistinti: «l'analyse y découvre, de façon sûre, des phénomènes de coordination, des structures»<sup>(21)</sup>. Nell'affrontare tale analisi, Marrou mette in guardia dalle tendenze idealistiche che vogliono imporre al reale, come un postulato e non come un problema, l'esistenza di una struttura unificata. Allo stesso tempo, egli mette in guardia dall'ingenuo ricorso al concetto di causa di stampo positivista, fondato su una concezione artificiale del «fatto» storico, come qualcosa di immediatamente percepibile<sup>(22)</sup>. La spiegazione storica è una spiegazione per «sviluppi coordinati»: «l'explication en histoire c'est la découverte, l'appréhension, l'analyse des mille liens qui, de façon peut-être inextricable, unissent les unes aux autres les faces multiples de la réalité humaine, – qui relie chaque phénomène aux phénomènes voisins, chaque état à des antécédents, immédiats ou lointains, et, pareillement, à ses conséquences»<sup>(23)</sup>.

La domanda che a questo punto è necessario porsi riguarda il modo in cui questi mille legami possono essere percepiti. Che un fenomeno non appaia mai come un fatto isolato, ma si riveli allo storico collegato a molteplici altri fatti, non dice ancora l'esistenza di una linea evidente che dia una struttura a tali collegamenti. «Pour que l'image que nous construisons du passé devienne réellement intelligible, il faudrait pouvoir hiérarchiser rigoureusement ces divers principes d'explications, systématiser ce réseau complexe de relations, en souligner les lignes maîtresses, y introduire ordre et unité»<sup>(24)</sup>.

<sup>(19)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 66.

<sup>(20)</sup> Cfr. *Ibidem*, pp. 146-168.

<sup>(21)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 170.

<sup>(22)</sup> Cfr. *Ibidem*, pp. 171-183.

<sup>(23)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 184.

<sup>(24)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 186.

Si viene così a parlare di gerarchia, di organizzazione, di ordinamento. E queste non sono cose che emergono dai fatti stessi, ma realtà che lo storico deve introdurre nei fatti, per dare loro intelligibilità. Se dunque è errato pensare che i fatti si debbano piegare alle ideologie, è altrettanto errato pensare che i fatti parlino da sé. Essi manifestano linee di tendenza verso molteplici collegamenti, ma è solo lo storico a fare di queste linee di tendenza un sistema di relazioni.

Bisogna ancora una volta riaffermare che *«la théorie précède l'histoire: la théorie, c'est-à-dire la position, consciente ou inconsciente, assumée en face du passé par l'historien: choix et découpage du sujet, questions posées, concepts mis en œuvre, et surtout types de relations, systèmes d'interprétation, valeur relative attachée à chacun»*<sup>(25)</sup>. Far storia significa dunque interpretare i fatti inserendoli in strutture di comprensione, in modelli interpretativi, che affondano le loro radici nella prospettiva di lettura scelta dallo storico. A partire da questa, egli formula una problematica, un'ipotesi che, verificata sui documenti, giunge a stabilire un «fatto». Questo non rappresenta il punto d'arrivo della ricerca, come neppure è stato il suo punto di partenza: una volta stabilito il fatto, *«il faut l'interpréter, l'expliquer en l'insérant dans des chaînes causales, des ensembles, des structures, des systèmes de plus en plus vastes»*<sup>(26)</sup>, che rimandano a quella prospettiva da cui si era partiti.

Se questo è il lavoro dello storico, diventa chiaro allora cosa comporta l'esame della sua opera, l'analisi di un testo storiografico. A prescindere da quelli che dovranno essere i passi ulteriori della ricerca, questa dovrà partire anzitutto dalla individuazione di quelle strutture in cui i fatti sono inseriti, di quelle reti di relazioni che danno intelligibilità ai singoli fatti. Se interpretare un fatto significa dirlo in un «modello interpretativo» più vasto, comprendere l'interpretazione di un fatto, cioè comprendere un testo storiografico, significherà anzitutto mettere in luce quel «modello».

Non c'è una logica dei fatti. È compito specifico dello storico offrire una logica ai fatti, interrogandoli, selezionandoli, inserendo in un sistema i collegamenti che manifestano. È questa struttura donata

<sup>(25)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 188.

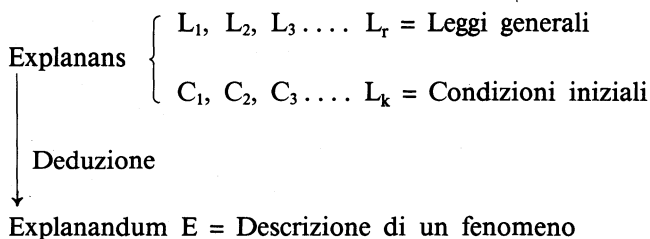
<sup>(26)</sup> H.-I. MARROU, «La foi historique», *Les Etudes Philosophiques* 14 (1959) 159.

alla storia a costituire la sua intelligibilità, e quindi il suo significato. La ricerca del significato di un testo storiografico si identificherà quindi con la ricerca di questa logica e del modello, della struttura in cui essa si esprime.

#### K. R. Popper: Leggi, condizioni ed eventi

Dal mondo della storiografia francese ci trasferiamo alla riflessione epistemologica di ambiente anglosassone. Ci accostiamo così all'opera di Karl Raimund Popper, il più grande forse degli epistemologi viventi.

«Einen Vorgang «kausal erklären» heisst, einen Satz, der ihn beschreibt, aus *Gesetzen* und *Randbedingungen* deduktiv ableiten»<sup>(27)</sup>. Così Popper sintetizza quel modello logico della conoscenza, che va sotto il nome di «modello Popper-Hempel», secondo il quale la spiegazione di un fenomeno, di un evento (E), nasce come deduzione logica del fenomeno stesso da due tipi di premesse: alcuni fenomeni o eventi che precedono e/o accompagnano il fenomeno in questione come condizioni (C) determinanti la sua esistenza, nonché alcune ipotesi o leggi generali, dette anche leggi di copertura (L), che fondano il potere esplicativo delle condizioni iniziali che ne sono una espressione concreta. La spiegazione assume quindi per Popper un carattere nomologico-deduttivo e può essere simbolizzata così:



Ciò che va notato nel modello ora descritto è che il fondamento della spiegazione sono le leggi generali, vale a dire le teorie nelle

<sup>(27)</sup> K. R. POPPER, *Logik der Forschung* (Tübingen <sup>3</sup>1966) 31 (la prima edizione di questa opera apparve in Wien nel 1935). Su quanto segue, oltre all'opera già citata, è utile vedere: K. R. POPPER, *Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge* (London <sup>2</sup>1965); IDEM, *Objective Knowledge: an Evolutionary Approach* (Oxford 1972); C. G. HEMPEL, *Aspects of Scientific Explanation and Other Essays in the Philosophy of Science* (New York / London 1965).



quali i fenomeni vengono sussunti<sup>(28)</sup>. Ma questo vuol dire che ogni spiegazione nasce da un punto di vista, dalla prospettiva di una teoria. Basta cambiare prospettiva per scoprire come «determinanti» del fenomeno nuove condizioni. Non ci sono quindi spiegazioni «totali», perché possono sorgere sempre nuove prospettive, nuove teorie. E non ci sono neppure spiegazioni «definitive», in quanto le teorie esplicative che vengono assunte sono sempre rivedibili. Questo vale anche per le cosiddette teorie scientifiche, in quanto il loro carattere di scientificità risiede proprio nel loro essere falsificabili di principio e non ancora di fatto. Non sono le prove a favore a fare di una teoria una teoria scientifica, essendo illimitato, e quindi mai concludente, il numero delle prove esigibili. La scientificità consiste invece nella possibilità che una teoria ha di essere messa in condizioni di essere falsificata<sup>(29)</sup>.

Va notato poi che il modello rende ragione allo stesso tempo di tutti e tre i possibili interessi del ricercatore: spiegare, prevedere,

<sup>(28)</sup> «I believe that theories are prior to observations as well as to experiments, in the sense that the latter are significant only in relation to theoretical problems. Also, we must have a question before we can hope that observation or experiment may help us in any way to provide an answer. Or to put it in terms of the method of trial and error, the trial must come before the error...» (K. R. POPPER, *The Poverty of Historicism* [London 1957] 98).

<sup>(29)</sup> Il neo-positivismo della prima metà del nostro secolo, che ha trovato la sua massima espressione nei filosofi del «Wiener Kreis», ha proposto come criterio di demarcazione tra proposizioni sensate e prive di senso il «principio di verifica»: hanno senso solo quelle proposizioni che si possono verificare empiricamente. Ammesso tale principio, solo le scienze empiriche hanno diritto di cittadinanza nel regno del senso; ogni altro discorso umano o è tautologico o è insignificante. Contro questa riduzione dell'ambito del senso, Popper reagisce distinguendo il problema della scientificità da quello del senso, affermando che il criterio di scientificità non può estendere la sua competenza fino a decidere della questione del senso: possono darsi proposizioni sensate anche non scientifiche. Quanto poi allo stesso criterio di scientificità, i fallimenti dei tentativi del neo-positivismo dimostrano, per Popper, l'impossibilità di una verifica definitiva degli asserti scientifici: le prove non bastano mai. Ecco allora che Popper propone come criterio di scientificità il «principio di falsificabilità»: potranno dirsi asserti scientifici quelli suscettibili di essere sottoposti ad un controllo empirico che li possa smentire. Saranno asserti scientifici corroborati quelli che, falsificabili di principio, non lo siano stati ancora di fatto. Sul principio di falsificabilità si veda: D. ANTISERI, *K. R. Popper. Epistemologia e società aperta* (Roma 1972) 29-61, e la bibliografia ivi citata.

provare. La spiegazione di un evento dà per accertate leggi ed evento, mentre ricerca le condizioni iniziali. La previsione, a sua volta, dà per certe leggi e condizioni per dedurre l'evento. La prova, infine, dà per ipotetiche le leggi e ne cerca conferma nel rapporto tra condizioni iniziali ed evento<sup>(30)</sup>. Il modello è anche capace di rendere ragione della divisione delle scienze. Le scienze teoriche sono quelle in cui ci si interessa soprattutto dell'ipotizzare le leggi generali e di provarle. Le scienze applicate, o tecnologiche, sono quelle in cui invece l'interesse è rivolto alla prognosi o previsione dei fenomeni. Le scienze storiche, infine, sono quelle in cui l'interesse è rivolto a fenomeni specifici e alla loro spiegazione, attraverso l'individuazione delle condizioni che li determinano<sup>(31)</sup>.

La teoria della spiegazione era nata come teoria della spiegazione nelle scienze naturali. La sua formulazione la configurava però come teoria della spiegazione in genere. La sua applicazione alle scienze storiche non si fece attendere<sup>(32)</sup>. Compito dello storico è spiegare determinati eventi. Per far questo egli, in modo non dissimile dallo scienziato, assume certe leggi generali che mettono in connessione, tra loro e con gli eventi, determinate condizioni che hanno preceduto e/o accompagnato l'evento stesso. È l'individuazione di queste condizioni, quelle che normalmente definiamo come «cause», il fine specifico del lavoro dello storico.

Si deve però notare come il potere esplicativo non risieda nelle condizioni, che sono sempre particolari, bensì nelle leggi, teorie universali. Il modello esplicativo ci dice pure che non esiste il fatto storico al di fuori di una teoria: il fatto è sempre situato in una certa prospettiva, assunto in base ad un determinato interesse, spiegato grazie ad una teoria, coperto da una legge universale. È pure chiaro come il problema delle cause in storia è essenzialmente un problema di selezione: diventano cause di un evento quelle condizioni iniziali che lo storico sceglie in base alla teoria, alla prospettiva in cui esamina l'evento. E, inoltre, le spiegazioni storiche non sono mai asso-

<sup>(30)</sup> Cfr. POPPER, *The Poverty of Historicism*, 133.

<sup>(31)</sup> Cfr. K. R. POPPER, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, II, (London 1966) 263s.

<sup>(32)</sup> Cfr. POPPER, *The Poverty of Historicism*; IDEM, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, soprattutto il cap. XXV; C. G. HEMPEL, «The Function of General Laws in History», *The Journal of Philosophy* 39 (1942) 35-48 (ora anche in *Aspects of Scientific Explanation*, 231-243).

lute, definitive, ultime, in quanto, almeno in linea di principio, infinite sono le prospettive da cui si può aggredire un fatto storico, e infinite quindi le teorie o leggi di copertura esplicative del fatto. Ciò che si può e si deve invece richiedere ad una spiegazione è la completezza, all'interno ovviamente della prospettiva scelta: esplicitare cioè tutte le condizioni rilevanti in rapporto alla teoria assunta come esplicativa.

Il modello esplicativo ora illustrato aiuta anche a dare una risposta al problema del valore delle spiegazioni storiche: se la spiegazione è fondata sulla teoria, sarà la natura di questa a determinare il valore di quella. Così, se lo storico assumerà teorie scientifiche, anche la spiegazione che ne dipenderà avrà carattere scientifico; se invece lo storico si affiderà a teorie di altro tipo, la spiegazione ad esse collegata assumerà il carattere di una «interpretazione»<sup>(33)</sup>. Con questo non si vuole affermare che le «interpretazioni» non godono dello stesso grado di verità delle «spiegazioni scientifiche»; si vuole soltanto dire che, mentre queste ultime sono controllabili mediante il processo di falsificazione, quelle non lo sono. Questo è il caso delle «interpretazioni» teologiche, la cui verificabilità non può essere che escatologica<sup>(34)</sup>. La verità di un asserto non è però legata alla sua scientificità.

Questo modello esplicativo raramente si trova esplicitato nella forma completa in cui è stato sopra esposto<sup>(35)</sup>. Il testo storiografico

<sup>(33)</sup> Cfr. POPPER, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, II, 265-269.

<sup>(34)</sup> In base al principio di falsificabilità, ciò che rende scientifico un asserto è il suo essere falsificabile di principio e il non esserlo ancora di fatto. Le conferme, le prove positive, non servono allo scopo, perché chiunque si pone in una certa prospettiva trova conferme al riguardo. Ciò che conta è che egli cerchi smentite e non le trovi. La religione, come anche la metafisica e l'etica, è invece inverificabile empiricamente, perché per essa uno stesso fatto può fungere da prova o da confutazione a seconda che si accetti la prospettiva religiosa o no. Questo non significa che ciò che la religione afferma sia falso. Vuol dire solo che la religione non è una scienza. La verità degli asserti religiosi non può essere provata scientificamente. Su questo si veda BETTORI-MARIOTTI, «Storiografia teologica».

<sup>(35)</sup> Riprendiamo da Antiseri un esempio in cui il modello trova esplicitati tutti i suoi elementi (cfr. D. ANTISERI, «Storiografia scientifica, filosofia della storia e teologia della storia», *Archivio di Filosofia* n. 3 [1971] 72). L'esempio è tratto da B. CROCE, *Il carattere della filosofia moderna* (Bari 1945) 96: «E poiché gli uomini non abbandonano il vecchio se non quando sorge il nuovo capace di sostituirlo e aborriscono dall'anarchia come dal vuoto

ne presenta per lo più un'esposizione abbreviata, in cui normalmente sono assenti le teorie che lo storico assume come esplicative dell'evento. Questo perché egli dà per scontata la conoscenza di tali teorie, desunte, tra l'altro, per lo più dal «senso comune». Il fatto che egli le sottintenda non significa però che non esistono; significa invece che l'interesse dello storico è concentrato non su di esse, ma sulle «cause» dell'evento, cioè sulle condizioni determinanti che lo precedono e/o lo accompagnano; queste condizioni sono però individuabili solo grazie alle teorie, che lo storico lo dica o no, che ne abbia esplicita coscienza o no<sup>(36)</sup>.

Anche per Popper, dunque, il discorso storico ha una struttura, ed essa è di carattere logico. Anzi, per Popper, qualsiasi testo storiografico è riducibile ad un modello logico unico e, ancora, tra le diverse strutture che il modello pone in luce, è possibile accostare tra loro quelle che prendono in considerazione la stessa o le stesse teorie esplicative. Fare storia significa ricorrere ad un modello logico di spiegazione unico e, in esso, a leggi generali applicabili ai diversi eventi concreti.

Esaminare un testo storiografico significherà riscoprire questo modello. Meglio, attraverso l'applicazione di questo modello esplicativo, la lettura di un testo storiografico consisterà nell'individuazione delle leggi generali, che sono state assunte dallo storico come esplica-

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(= L), e poiché allora davano smarrimento e paura lo spezzettarsi dell'Europa in chiese e sette contrastanti, e il traballante ordine sociale, e la sregolatezza del costume e la minaccia alla cultura (= C<sub>1</sub>), il gesuitismo venne al soccorso e, col correggere, rinsaldare e riadattare gli istituti della Chiesa di Roma, fece argine alla rovina e molte cose necessarie salvò (= C<sub>2</sub>), e questo servizio che rese alla civiltà europea gli acquistò autorità e potere (= E)». L'evento (E) da spiegare è l'autorità e il potere acquistati dal gesuitismo, e lo si spiega rifacendosi a due «cause» (C<sub>1</sub> e C<sub>2</sub>), che sono tali in base ad una teoria (L), dettata dal senso comune, che Croce enuncia all'inizio della sua argomentazione.

<sup>(36)</sup> Dallo stesso saggio di Antiseri riprendiamo un altro esempio, in cui la legge esplicativa di copertura è sottintesa. Questa volta l'esempio è tratto da D. MACK SMITH, *Storia d'Italia. 1861-1958*, II (Bari 1957) 765: «Badoglio decise anche di non sciogliere la milizia fascista troppo presto (= E) per evitare che questa potesse ricorrere alla forza (= C)». La «causa» (C) è tale in virtù di una legge (L) psicologica sottintesa, che può essere così enunciata: «qualsiasi gruppo che crede in qualcosa o che ha interesse a qualcosa, prima di venir soppresso reagirà con tutti i mezzi a disposizione» (cfr. ANTISERI, «Storiografia scientifica», 72s).

tive dell'evento e delle condizioni determinanti che egli ha selezionato in base ad esse. Anche il rapporto tra diversi testi storiografici assumerà questo carattere logico, consistendo in una classificazione fondata sulla comparazione delle rispettive leggi generali esplicative e delle condizioni iniziali e/o concomitanti che sono state rilevate in base a tali leggi.

Anche nella teoria epistemologica di Popper scompare il mito dell'evento unico e irripetibile, consistendo la storia proprio nel ricondurre tale unicità all'universalità di alcune prospettive di lettura che abbiamo chiamato leggi. Un testo non potrà dirsi compreso fino a quando non sarà stata posta in luce questa logica della ricerca, che è anche la logica della spiegazione. Allo stesso modo, nella teoria epistemologica di Popper, scompare l'altro mito della storia come «oggettiva registrazione del passato». Il ruolo decisivo che nella ricerca e nella spiegazione vengono ad assumere le teorie interpretative limita le pretese di oggettività all'interno di tali teorie, lasciando alla scelta dello storico l'assunzione della teoria che egli reputa migliore per la comprensione dei fatti, e lasciando all'interprete del testo storiografico il compito primario di individuare tale teoria. Alla logica della ricerca storica corrisponde la logica della spiegazione o dell'interpretazione del testo storiografico.

#### H.-G. Gadamer: L'emergere del logos

Il passaggio all'ambito culturale tedesco segna anche uno spostamento dalla sfera dell'epistemologia a quella più ampia dell'ermeneutica. Come interlocutore incontriamo Hans-Georg Gadamer, l'erede più significativo della tradizione ermeneutica tedesca. Il passaggio dal campo metodologico a quello filosofico più ampio comporta che non potremo attenderci una descrizione diretta della produzione e dell'interpretazione di un testo, e quindi neanche una riflessione che immediatamente ponga in rilievo la funzione esplicativa di un modello di conoscenza. Il punto di riferimento, che la riflessione filosofica di Gadamer offre, si situa più a monte del problema che stiamo esaminando e va colto in alcune sollecitazioni all'interno della globalità del suo pensiero.

Il primo contributo che vi si può cogliere si colloca nella direzione della negazione del potere esplicativo dello «schema genetico»: «Es ist die Verführung des Historismus... im Verstehen eine Art von Rekonstruktion zu erblicken, die die Entstehung des Textes

gleichsam wiederholt»<sup>(37)</sup>. Ma, al rifiuto dello storicismo, si accompagna, in Gadamer, il rifiuto della riduzione della conoscenza storica a quella tipica delle scienze naturali. Di qui la sua polemica nei confronti del «metodo», inteso come metodo scientifico moderno, e la riaffermazione che «man das Wesen der Geisteswissenschaften nicht richtig erfasst hat, wenn man sie an dem Massstab fortschreitender Erkenntnis von Gesetzmässigkeit misst»<sup>(38)</sup>.

Con una asserzione di questo tipo sembrerebbe esclusa ogni possibilità di interpretare mediante modelli e schemi. Ma, ovviamente, il pensiero di Gadamer non si esaurisce nel momento negativo, e proprio nella esposizione in positivo della sua filosofia ermeneutica offre spunti significativi per il nostro problema. Tra questi il primo posto va a quello che egli definisce: «*Der hermeneutische Vorrang der Frage*»<sup>(39)</sup>. Affermare il primato ermeneutico della domanda, significa concretamente che «man macht keine Erfahrungen ohne die Aktivität des Fragens»<sup>(40)</sup>. Il comprendere non nasce dall'attività che la realtà compie sul soggetto, ma dall'interrogativo che il soggetto, il lettore, pone alla realtà, e in specie, al testo.

Quale sia il ruolo e la funzione della domanda nel rapporto che così si stabilisce, diviene chiaro quando si considera come «mit der Frage wird das Befragte in eine bestimmte Hinsicht gerückt»<sup>(41)</sup>. È infatti grazie alla domanda che il testo esce dall'indistinzione e viene collocato in una determinata prospettiva. La conoscenza umana non può abbracciare la totalità e il suo approccio al reale non può che essere finalizzato. In tal modo, la domanda, mentre apre il testo alla percezione del senso, nello stesso tempo delimita i confini all'interno dei quali il senso va cercato. Ma, per quanto diverse possano essere le prospettive di lettura che la diversità di domande possibili mi offre, alla fine ciò che nel dialogo domanda-risposta tra il lettore e il testo «in seiner Wahrheit heraustritt, ist der Logos »<sup>(42)</sup>, quel logos che è al di là e del lettore e del testo.

<sup>(37)</sup> H.-G. GADAMER, *Wahrheit und Methode*. Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik (Tübingen 1965) 355.

<sup>(38)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 2.

<sup>(39)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 344. È questo il titolo di uno dei capitoli dell'opera di Gadamer.

<sup>(40)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 344.

<sup>(41)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 345.

<sup>(42)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 350.

Già da questa impostazione dialettica del comprendere possono trarsi conseguenze sul piano metodologico. Se, infatti, dal comprendere, in senso generale, passiamo all'interpretare, come momento mediatore del comprendere, – nella direzione della giustificazione e della fondazione esplicita, come un rendere leggibile e comprensibile un testo, garantendone la corretta comprensione contro i possibili fraintendimenti<sup>(43)</sup> – allora il ruolo che la domanda ha nel processo del comprendere assume una forma più precisa. Il suo compito di porre in prospettiva, si traduce metodologicamente, nel momento interpretativo, in un dover collocare i testi in quel quadro più generale che è appunto la prospettiva del lettore. La domanda deve necessariamente tradursi in uno schema interpretativo generale, in cui i valori significativi del testo emergono proprio dal confronto tra gli elementi dello schema e gli elementi che da esso si distaccano. Interrogare un testo vuol dire porlo a confronto con una precomprensione di quella realtà che è oggetto del testo. Tale precomprensione funziona come uno «schema logico», nei confronti del quale si manifesta la reazione del testo.

Una seconda serie di riflessioni si rifanno a quel carattere della comprensione che Gadamer definisce la «*Sprachlichkeit . . . des hermeneutischen Gegenstandes*»<sup>(44)</sup>. Per Gadamer il processo della comprensione è sempre un fatto del linguaggio<sup>(45)</sup>. Ciò fa sì che la comprensione dei testi diventi il caso tipico ed esemplare del compito ermeneutico<sup>(46)</sup>. Parlando dunque della comprensione dei testi, Gadamer presenta anzitutto queste osservazioni: «So scheint die Bezugnahme auf den ursprünglichen Leser ebenso wie die auf den Sinn des Verfassers nur einen sehr rohen historisch-hermeneutischen Kanon darzustellen, der den Sinnhorizont von Texten nicht wirklich begrenzen darf. Was schriftlich fixiert ist, hat sich von der Kontingenz seines Ursprungs und seines Urhebers abgelöst und für neuen Bezug positiv freigegeben. Normbegriffe wie die Meinung des Verfassers oder das Verständnis des ursprünglichen Lesers repräsentieren in Wahrheit nur eine leere Stelle, die sich von Gelegenheit zu Gelegenheit des Verstehens ausfüllt»<sup>(47)</sup>. Il momento storico della produzio-

<sup>(43)</sup> Cfr. *Ibidem*, pp. 375-377.

<sup>(44)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 367 (il corsivo è nel testo).

<sup>(45)</sup> Cfr. *Ibidem*, p. 361.

<sup>(46)</sup> Cfr. *Ibidem*, p. 368.

<sup>(47)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 372.

ne di un testo non produce un isolamento del testo in un punto determinato della storia. Al contrario, attraverso la produzione, il testo è immesso nella storia, per aprirsi a sempre nuove fruizioni. Il richiamo quindi all'autore e alla sua intenzione maschera di fatto, come pure il richiamo al lettore originario, una comprensione che travalica i loro limiti.

Ne consegue che «was im Text gesagt ist, muss von aller Kontingenz, die ihm anhaftet, abgelöst und in seiner vollen Identität erfasst werden, in der es allein Geltung hat»<sup>(48)</sup>. Non nel ritorno al momento storico originario risiede la possibilità della comprensione, ma, al contrario, nella liberazione da esso. La comprensione passa attraverso una trasformazione dal «contingente» all'«ideale», nella quale sembra doversi inserire un passaggio dal «particolare» al «generale». Altrove lo stesso Gadamer dirà che «es ist immer *ein Wort*, das wir einander sagen und das uns gesagt wird (theologisch: «das» Wort Gottes) – aber die Einheit dieses Wortes legt sich . . . je und je auseinander in artikulierte Rede»<sup>(49)</sup>. I singoli discorsi, i singoli testi si aprono alla comprensione solo attraverso un rimando all'unità della parola. Se ora dal piano della riflessione ermeneutica si passa a quello delle applicazioni metodologiche, si deve riconoscere che queste indicazioni sollecitano verso un'interpretazione dei testi che passi attraverso un confronto della loro particolarità con un modello generale, in cui il logos prende il sopravvento sulle sue singole determinazioni.

Le deduzioni metodologiche tratte dall'opera di Gadamer sembrerebbero, per certi versi, contraddire quell'accenno di antitesi presente nello stesso titolo dell'opera fondamentale del filosofo: *Wahrheit und Methode*. Ma l'antitesi sottintesa in questo titolo non va concepita come assoluta. Lo stesso Gadamer, nella prefazione alla seconda edizione dell'opera, pur riconfermando la tensione tra i due termini, osserva che «das schliesst nicht im geringsten aus, dass die Methoden der modernen Naturwissenschaft ihre Anwendung auch auf die gesellschaftliche Welt finden . . . Der methodische Geist der Wissenschaft setzt sich überall durch. So ist es mir nicht von ferne in den Sinn gekommen, die Unerlässlichkeit methodischer Arbeit innerhalb der sogenannten Geisteswissenschaften zu leugnen»<sup>(50)</sup>. Que-

<sup>(48)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 372.

<sup>(49)</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 433s (il corsivo è nel testo).

<sup>(50)</sup> *Ibidem*, p. xv.



ste osservazioni inducono a riconiugare l'arte del comprendere con la scienza dell'interpretare. La percezione del significato di un testo sta nell'individuazione del suo logos, ma questo non emerge nel lettore per simpatia o per qualsiasi altro canale immediato, bensì solo attraverso la mediazione di una ricerca, di una scienza che agisce per mezzo del confronto tra la concretezza del testo e l'universalità del logos.

Anche le riflessioni ermeneutiche di Gadamer ci riconducono dunque verso quella dimensione logica della comprensione che avevamo posto in antitesi alla dimensione storica. La «stortura storicista» viene in tal modo ricacciata ancora più indietro. E ciò senza tornare nei dedali fumosi dello psicologismo. L'interpretazione resta ancorata alla funzione ermeneutica del modello, ma questo non può che essere un modello logico.

### Riflessioni conclusive

Il confronto con questi tre maestri del sapere porta contributi positivi alla risposta che la domanda sulla possibilità e la natura del «modello logico» attende. Pur su piani di riflessione diversi e in modi diversi, tutti e tre ci hanno confermato sulla natura logica dell'interpretazione storiografica attraverso modelli. Dalla convergenza fra i tre contributi emerge un'immagine unitaria del testo storiografico e della sua interpretazione, che può essere così riassunta.

Ogni testo si presenta come una modulazione dell'unico logos, che svincola il testo dalle sue radici storiche, per farne una testimonianza del linguaggio in cui il logos risiede. Il significato profondo del testo viene colto quindi solo al di là delle sue determinazioni storiche, che rivestono l'universalità e cioè la perennità del messaggio. Ciò viene alla luce in virtù della funzione ermeneutica della domanda, che, inscrivendo il testo in una prospettiva di lettura, ne colloca la singolarità in rapporto agli abituali schemi di aspettazione suggeriti dalla esperienza. Riferendo tutto ciò al campo più specifico della storiografia, il rapporto domanda-risposta tra lettore e testo pone in rilievo come l'oggetto del comprendere non sia il fatto in sé, ma la collocazione del fatto all'interno di una rete di relazioni, che ne costituiscono la struttura interpretativa. Tale struttura si è rivelata consistere in una serie di rapporti che legano il fatto da interpretare ad altri fatti antecedenti e/o concomitanti, in virtù di una teoria scientifica o di una visione non scientifica del reale.

Questo quadro unitario ermeneutico ed epistemologico conferma allora anzitutto la basilarità della dimensione logica del narrare storiografico. Conferma pure che tale dimensione logica opera attraverso modelli interpretativi del reale, e non solo giustifica la possibilità di percepirli, ma richiede altresì la loro individuazione come passaggio necessario per la comprensione del testo.

A quale modello interpretativo ciascuno voglia fare ricorso è a questo punto un fatto secondario. Qualsiasi logica del racconto, dalla più ingenua alla più sofisticata, dalla più astratta a quella già incarnata in contenuti specifici, è utile allo scopo. Purché sia chiaro alla coscienza dell'interprete che la chiave, che lo introduce nel significato del testo, è soltanto la chiave della logica.

Se ora, dal discorso generale, passiamo al problema concreto dell'esegesi biblica, dobbiamo riconoscere che le risposte ottenute dalla riflessione ermeneutica ed epistemologica vanno a confermare l'intuizione sopra espressa della priorità del modello interpretativo logico su quello storico, e la riduzione al primo delle virtualità interpretative del secondo. Con questo l'esegesi storico-critica, mentre vede salvaguardata la sua tipicità e imprescindibilità in ordine ai problemi inerenti alla storicità del testo e all'oggettività del contenuto, si trova invece a dover cedere il suo dominio esclusivo in ordine ai problemi inerenti al significato del testo.

Va sottolineato che l'esegesi storico-critica resta insostituibile per ciò che concerne il problema dell'autenticità storica degli eventi narrati nei testi. A questa verifica l'esegesi biblica non potrà in alcun caso sottrarsi. Lo richiede la natura stessa del messaggio rivelato, che non è riducibile alla comunicazione di una dottrina, ma è testimonianza di una storia di salvezza. La dimensione fattuale della salvezza cristiana impone la verifica sull'oggettività dei fatti trasmessi dai testi sacri, pena il rischio di cadere inevitabilmente nella gnosi. Di qui l'imprescindibilità dell'esegesi storico-critica come strumento di accertamento della oggettività dell'evento.

E tuttavia abbiamo spesso ricordato come il fatto non ci sia dato se non nella parola che lo significa. Ciò vorrà dire che questo aspetto della ricerca storico-critica dovrà essere profondamente integrato nella globalità del processo interpretativo. Come possa realizzarsi tale integrazione non è dato ancora di vedere.

Quanto alla ricerca sul significato, l'analisi fin qui condotta ha mostrato come l'utilizzazione del metodo storico-critico quale strumento interpretativo non può più essere adeguatamente fondata sui

principi dell'approccio storico alla realtà. Il fondamento del metodo dell'interpretazione rimanda ad una visione del linguaggio e del comprendere che rompono con un vieto storicismo e fanno spazio ad una pluralità di vie al significato, che abbiano in comune la dimensione logica della conoscenza. In questa pluralità di vie c'è spazio ancora per la metodologia dell'esegesi storico-critica, purché spogliata dei suoi pregiudizi storicisti.

In particolare, la metodologia storico-critica risulterà ancora insostituibile per ciò che concerne la ricostruzione della storia dello sviluppo del testo, illuminando quel tempo che intercorre tra l'evento e il testo come oggi ci si presenta. È questa un'analisi necessaria al fine di delineare gli ambienti storici in cui i testi sono nati e poter così descrivere una storia d'Israele e della comunità cristiana primitiva. Ma al di là di questa finalità prettamente storica, la ricostruzione dello sviluppo tradizionale e redazionale di un testo può essere un elemento utile per la stessa determinazione del significato del testo. Non, ancora una volta, nel senso che la storia è la via al significato, ma nel senso che l'ambiente storico, in quanto ambiente di linguaggio, rappresenta come un macro-testo in cui i singoli testi letterari si trovano inseriti. Come contesto di linguaggio più ampio, esso permette l'istituzione di correlazioni di significato più larghe ma non meno pertinenti.

Così ridotto e precisato lo spazio della metodologia storico-critica, le linee di fondazione ermeneutica che sono emerse in questa analisi invitano infine ad aprire l'esegesi biblica a nuove metodologie di ricerca. Ogni nuovo approccio al testo, in quanto propone nuove prospettive di lettura di esso, non potrà essere pregiudizialmente rifiutato. È solo grazie alla pluralità di prospettive di lettura che si riuscirà a liberare il massimo di significato di quel Logos divino che il testo biblico racchiude. Soprattutto quelle metodologie che meglio evidenziano la dimensione logica della conoscenza andranno favorite. Si pensi in particolare alle metodologie di carattere strutturale, con il loro lavorare sui sistemi di relazione ai diversi livelli del testo. Ma anche per queste nuove metodologie sarà necessaria un'opera di demistificazione dei nascosti presupposti ideologici, simile a quella qui operata nei confronti del metodo storico-critico. La complessità dell'atto dell'interpretare e la singolarità di quell'interpretazione che è la lettura di un testo biblico richiedono un'ermeneutica che sappia di tutto avvalersi, ma anche tutto purificare per salvare la specificità del compito.

Chiudendo queste riflessioni, si deve ricordare come esse possano dare risposta solo ad un aspetto assai limitato del problema della connessione dei metodi in esegesi. Limitata è anzitutto la problematica considerata, relativa unicamente all'uso dei modelli interpretativi nell'analisi dei racconti. Limitata è anche la prospettiva ermeneutica con cui si è affrontato il problema, che lascia così in sospeso l'interrogativo sul come queste intuizioni possano tradursi metodologicamente in un concreto cammino esegetico, per tappe distinte e successive, che faccia spazio ai diversi modelli interpretativi. Ma il discorso metodologico non potrà che essere successivo ad una sicura fondazione ermeneutica ed epistemologica.

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#### SUMMARY

In view of the pluralism of current exegetical methodologies, constant recourse is had to models for interpretation of texts, be these more ancient stages of the text, as in historical-critical exegesis, or schemes of a logical character as in structural exegesis. What advantages does the use of a model offer to interpretation? With the analysis limited to a narrative text, an examination of the contribution from the philosophy of history (H.-I. Marrou), from epistemology (K. R. Popper), and from philosophical hermeneutics (H.-G. Gadamer), helps to see in the logical dimension of the different models, the source of their interpretative power. At the hermeneutical level this opens up a perspective of unity in the exegetical methodologies.

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## Is there but One Song?

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One of the most intriguing of rabbinic lists is the enumeration of Ten Songs that mark ten decisive stages of Jewish history<sup>(1)</sup>. It appears in various forms in different rabbinic texts. Perhaps the best starting-point is the version which occurs at the beginning of the tractate *Širtā* of the *Mēkiltā dē R. Yīšmā' ēl*. Commenting on the phrase in Exod 15,1 "this song" (*'et hašširā hazzō't*), the *Mēkiltā* asks:

Is there but one song? And are there not ten songs? The first was the one that was uttered in Egypt, as it is said (Isa. 30:29), "Song will be yours, as on the night of the festival's inauguration"<sup>(2)</sup>. The second was the one that was uttered at the Red Sea, as it is said, "Then sang Moses" (Exod. 15:1). The third was the one that was uttered at the well, as it is said, "Then sang Israel" (Nu. 21:17). The fourth was the one that Moses uttered, as it is said, "And so, when Moses had finished writing..." (Deut. 31:24). The fifth was the one that Joshua uttered, as it is said, "Then spoke Joshua of the Lord" (Josh. 10:6). The sixth was the one which Deborah and Barak uttered, as it is said, "Then sang Deborah and Barak ben Abinoam" (Judg. 5:1). The seventh was the one that David uttered, as it is said, "And David sang to the Lord the words of this song" (2 Sam. 22:1). The eighth was the one that Solomon uttered, as it is said, "A Psalm, a song at the dedication of the House of David" (Psalm 30:1)... The ninth song was the one which Jehoshaphat uttered, as it is said, "And when he had taken counsel with the people he appointed those who were to sing to the Lord and praise him in holy array" (2 Chron. 20:21)... The tenth one is for the time to come, as it is said, "Sing to the Lord a new song, let his praise reach to the ends of the earth" (Isa. 42:10), as elsewhere it says, "Sing to the Lord a new song, let his praise be in the multitude of the pious" (Psalm 149:1)<sup>(3)</sup>. All the songs that have already

<sup>(1)</sup> On rabbinic lists in general, W. S. TOWNER, *The Rabbinic 'Enumeration of Scriptural Examples'* (Leiden 1973).

<sup>(2)</sup> Isaiah is here understood to be alluding to a song that was sung on the eve of the very first Passover; cf. *b. Pesahim* 95b and *Ber. Rabba* 6:2.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Mēkiltā* equates these two not only because of the eschatological

taken place are called by the feminine form [*šîrâ*], for just as the female gives birth, so the victories of the past have eventually been followed by submission. But the victory to come has no submission following it, therefore it is designated by the masculine form [*šîr*]. So it is written, "Ask now and see if a male gives birth" (Jer. 30:6). Just as the male does not give birth, so the victory to come will not be followed by submission, as it is said, "Israel is saved by the Lord with an eternal victory" (Isa. 45:17)<sup>(4)</sup>.

Like many other rabbinic enumerations — the trials of Abraham, the things created in the twilight preceding the first Sabbath — this list brings together a group of different Biblical texts and, in ordering them under a single rubric, performs that typical and peculiarly pleasurable act of sorting which is so much of midrash, a celebration of the Bible's unity and perfection<sup>(5)</sup>. Here, various songs of triumph included in different books of the Bible are pulled together, and the great highlights of Israel's history — the Exodus, desert wanderings, the entry into Canaan, the Conquest, the Judges, David's victories, the Temple, the Monarchy — are alluded to, in fact, rattled off, via the catalogue of hymns. The number ten, a popular (if not exclusive) feature of such lists, may be regarded as conventional — as will be seen presently, it would have been possible to start the list with songs earlier than the Exodus, or to include others not mentioned here. But in this list, at least, there is nothing trained about it: the catalogue works well, and is of the sort that, one might imagine, an early pedagogue might wish to have his charges memorize, or that a father might like to teach to his son.

There is only one problem with the *Mekiltā*' version. The last remark, commenting on the difference between the feminine form *šîrâ* versus the masculine *šîr*, does not fit the list it has just presented. Our text says, "all the songs that have already taken place are called by the feminine form", yet of the nine songs listed, only

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"new" used in both, but also because both imply the "time to come", i.e. the time when the whole world will acknowledge God's sovereignty, or at the time when the "multitude of the pious" will be able to sing God's praises together. Cf. Ps 98.

<sup>(4)</sup> H. HOROWITZ AND I. RABIN, *Mekiltā' dē R. Yišmā' 'ēl* (Jerusalem 1970) 116. For other versions of this midrash, see below.

<sup>(5)</sup> On this see in general: I. HEINEMANN, *Darkê hā'aggādâ* (Jerusalem 1970) 56-74, and D. PATTE, *Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine* (Missoula, Mont. 1975) 65-127.

four are actually referred to in the text by the word *šîrâ*. Of the remaining five, three are in fact called by the masculine form *šîr* (specifically reserved for the one future, eschatological song by our passage), while the other two are called neither *šîr* nor *šîrâ*! On the face of it, then, there is contradiction within the text itself.

Various solutions to this problem have been proposed<sup>(6)</sup>. One of the most ingenious is the recent suggestion that the list of ten songs is a later interpolation, and that originally our midrash was intended simply to point out that the phrase *haššîrâ hazzō't* occurs exactly ten times in the Bible<sup>(7)</sup>. (After a while, presumably, this point was lost, and various lists of different *songs* began to be inserted in the passage). I must confess that this suggestion leaves me unconvinced. The trouble is that the midrash's question, *wēhālō' 'éser šîrôt hén*, does not mean (as this author translates it) "Does not indeed the expression *haššîrâ hazzō't* occur ten times?"<sup>(8)</sup> It means "And are there not ten songs?" or "Are there not ten things called by the name *šîrâ*?" As the Mekhilta's concluding remark shows, this midrash was, at least at one point, concerned with the "femininity" of the form *šîrâ*. But that feminine form occurs not ten but twelve times in the singular in the Bible, and once in the plural. Moreover, I cannot believe that our midrashist would have been drawn to catalogue the *number of times* this word or expression is used in any case — especially since fully six of those usages are in reference to a single song, that of Moses in Deut 32! Would he not first and foremost be interested in *which songs* are called by the feminine form — and why? In fact, is this not the question that stands behind our midrash — why are some songs, like Exod 15, the Song of the Sea, called *šîrâ*, and others only *šîr*?

As others have shown, the list presented in the *Mēkiltā* appears with some significant variants in other texts<sup>(9)</sup>. *Midraš Tanhûma* agrees with the *Mēkiltā* as to the first eight songs, but the ninth is listed as the Song of Songs, and the tenth as Ps 98. *Yalqût Šim'ônî*

<sup>(6)</sup> See Rashi on *b. 'Erkîn* 13b.

<sup>(7)</sup> See J. GOLDIN, "This Song", in S. LIEBERMAN, *Salo Baron Jubilee Volume I* (Jerusalem 1974) 539-554.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Ibid.*, 547.

<sup>(9)</sup> See notes in HOROWITZ-RABIN, *ibid.*; also M. KASHER, *Tôrâ Šelēmâ* vol. 14, p. 289; L. GINZBERG, *Legends of the Jews* vol. 6, p. 11 (Note 59), GOLDIN, "This Song".

duplicates the *Mēkiltā*' list with the substitution of 1 Kgs 8,12 (Solomon's Prayer) for Jehoshaphat's song. Saadya's list begins with the "Song of Abraham," a curious reference that has inspired several interpretations<sup>(10)</sup>. R. Simeon b. Isaac of Mainz (tenth-eleventh cen-

<sup>(10)</sup> See A. EPSTEIN, "*širat 'Abrāhām 'Abīnū*" in *Mimmizrah umimma'ārāb* vol. 1 (1894) 85-89. As Epstein shows, the *širā* of Abraham is alluded to in *Ber. Rabba* chap. 43:9 and was connected in the minds of some commentators to the song of Isaiah. But note that *širat 'Abrāhām* is also included among the Ten Songs listed by the midrashic collection *'Aggadat Šir hašširim* (ed. S. SCHECHTER [London 1896] 10). The same collection goes on to record a tradition that Abraham sang a song to God upon being freed from the fiery furnace (one of his midrashic Ten Trials), *ibid.*, p. 29; this tradition also appears in *Midraš Zūtā*' (ed. S. BUBER, [Berlin 1894] 25). Ultimately it may be a back-formation from the song sung by Hananiah, Mishaël and Azariah when they emerged from *their* fiery furnace (this song is mentioned immediately following the mention of Abraham's song in both *'Aggadat Šir hašširim* and in *Midraš Zūtā*']. Also noteworthy is the fact that the pseudepigraphic *Apocalypse of Abraham* depicts Abraham as uttering a song of praise at the time of the covenant between the pieces: "And [the angel] said: 'Only worship, Abraham, and utter the song which I have taught thee'; because there was no earth to fall upon. And I worshipped only, and uttered the song which he had taught me. And he said: 'Recite without ceasing'. And I recited, and he also himself with me recited the song". The text then cites a song of praise more than twenty lines long, an elaboration of the meaning of various divine names followed by a brief supplication; see G. H. BOX (ed.), *Apocalypse of Abraham* (New York 1919) 57-61. It is interesting that an early list of the biblical odes (on which see below) by Niceta, the early fifth century bishop of Remesiana, discusses the origin of such odes (see his treatise, "De utilitate hymnorum", ed. C. H. TURNER *JTS* 24 [1923] 225-252; this treatise was previously known as *De psalmodiae bono*, see Migne, PL 68:373). Here Niceta specifically rejects the assertion of a work entitled *Inquisitio Abrahæ* that Abraham sang the first canticle to God: "Neque enim illud volumen temerarie recipiendum est cui inscriptio est Inquisitio Abrahæ ubi cantasse ipse et animalia et fontes et elementa finguntur, cum nulla sit fide liber ipse, nulla auctoritate, subnixus" (TURNER, *op. cit.*, p. 324). Does this rejection imply the existence of a tradition known to Niceta (from the "Inquisitio" or elsewhere) that Abraham's canticle was the first in a series of biblical praises of God? Cf. the midrashic denial that a *širā* was sung by Abraham (or anyone else prior to Moses) in *Šemôt Rabba*' 23:4. Beyond these particular connections of Abraham with historical groupings of songs, the phrase "call on the name of the Lord", used with respect to Abraham in Gen 12,8; 13,4 and 21,33, was understood midrashically as referring to praise and benediction; see e.g. *Ber. Rabba*' 54:8. The Samaritan *Mēmar Marqa*' connects the Song of the Sea with Abraham's planting an 'ēšel in Beer-Sheba and calling on the name of



tury), in his poem 'I *Patrôs* for the last day of Passover, excludes from the Mekhilta's list Deut 32, and adds Kgs 8,12. Most striking of all is the variation between the *Mekilta*' list and that presented at the beginning of the Targum of the Song of Songs. The latter's Ten Songs are: Ps 90 (sung by Adam); Exod 15; Num 21,17; Deut 32; Josh 10,12; Judg 5,1; 1 Sam 2 (Hannah's Prayer); 2 Sam 22; The Song of Songs, and, in the eschatological *šîr* position, Isa 30. In other words, four of its ten differ from the *Mekilta*' list.

Now of course there is nothing unusual about such variations in rabbinic enumerations — a similar spectrum of variants may be found, for example, for the trials of Abraham cited. But neither are the variants particularly helpful. All they seem to suggest is that the number ten, being conventional, generated different lists, though a central core of songs is held in common by all the different versions. But how is this to square with the remark about feminine and masculine forms of the word for "song"?

I am afraid the solution I will propose is not so ingenious as the one already cited (that the "ten" originally corresponded to ten instances of the phrase *haššîrâ hazzō't*); in fact mine is just the sort of "solution" one would rather not hear about, since it basically sees the *Mekilta*' text as a conflation of two different traditions — a particularly modern and distressing sort of answer which diagnoses the disease by killing the patient. And yet — forgive me — it is the only answer the evidence permits, indeed, the evidence virtually forces the conclusion willy-nilly.

Let us begin by noticing where, by and large, the songs involved come from: they are incorporated in various narrative texts from the historical books of the Bible. This is, I daresay, obvious, and yet it should not be the less remarkable for being right before our eyes. There are plenty of songs in the Bible, but most of them are to be found in the Book of Psalms, traditionally ascribed to David's authorship. Outside of the Psalter there exist relatively few songs, and it is these which by and large populate our various lists. At the

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the Lord (Gen 21,33) and, earlier, God's planting a garden in Eden. The nexus is the Samaritan targum's use of *tita'* to translate 'āz ("then") in Exod 15,1 — *tita'* is understood punningly as related to "planting". The 'ēšel is thus understood as a "garden of praises" cognate with the Garden of Eden before it (the original song of praise) and with the Song of the Sea, beginning *tita'*, after it. See J. MACDONALD, *Memar Marqa'* vol. I (Berlin 1963) 37.

same time, the lists are not made up exclusively of things that are, or even could be, labeled "song". The *Mēkiltā*' list includes Josh 10,12, which is not called a song in the text, and indeed even so canny a commentator as R. David Kimḥi confesses his confusion as to what our Sages might have meant by including it<sup>(11)</sup>. Likewise, Solomon's pronouncement at the inauguration of the Temple (1 Kgs 8,12) is hardly a "song" (it figures among the ten listed by the *Yalqūt Šim' ōnī* and in R. Simeon b. Isaac's poem). Similarly, the prayer of Hezekiah, which figures among the ten listed by the *Ba'al Haṭṭûrîm*, is a prayer and none too song-like.

What all these compositions have in common is that they are praises of, and/or prayers addressed to, God — or, to state the point still more bluntly, they are utterances which, while having been spoken or sung in a particular set of historical circumstances by biblical personages, were suitable praises/prayers for a congregation to speak or sing as part of its liturgy. Indeed, some of them — those represented as having been sung by Levite choirs or by "all Israel" (Exod 15) — were the ideal sort of song for a congregation, i.e. "all Israel" or "the Levites" of nowadays, to sing as part of their worship<sup>(12)</sup>.

<sup>(11)</sup> Radak notes that the connection of this passage with the *šîrôt* may be articulated in the Jonathan Targum's translation of 'āz yēdabbēr yēhōšū'a as *bēkēn šabbāḥ yēhōšū'a*, the same phrase as used elsewhere in the targumim to translate 'āz yāšîr (see *ad* Exod 15,1; Nu 21,17, etc.). Radak adds: "And it is possible that after the prayer came the song [referred to by the introductory phrase] but the song was not included [in our text]; or perhaps the song itself is 'And the sun stood still . . .', (Josh 10,13) and the prayer was 'And he said in the presence of all Israel, "O sun in Gibeon, be still . . ." (Josh 10,13). The midrash so cites it: this song is numbered among the Ten Songs, and the word *wayyēdabbēr* indicates song and not prayer, as in 'And David uttered (*wayyēdabbēr*) to the Lord the words of this song' (2 Sam 22,1)". See further my *The Idea of Biblical Poetry* (New Haven 1981) 253 n. 116.

<sup>(12)</sup> The Song of the Sea did enjoy a special prominence in this regard, and from early times was treated as a model for congregational singing. See my above-cited book, esp. pp. 116-118. Among many early specific connections of Exod 15 with liturgical devotions is Philo's description of congregational singing among the Therapeutae: "Then, when each choir has separately done its own part in the feast . . . they become a single choir, a copy of the choir set up of old beside the Red Sea in honor of the wonders there wrought. For at the command of God the sea became a source of salvation . . . This wonderful sight and experience, an act transcending word and

And they were sung. It is well known that Ex 15 and Deut 32 were performed as part of the Second Temple liturgy; other songs-from-outside-the-Psalter figure prominently nowadays in Jewish liturgy of various communities, notably the "Song of Asaph" (I Chr 6,18), the "Prayer of Hannah", both used in daily liturgies, and, among *haptārôt*, virtually all the other items cited. Surely this is not coincidental. The songs and prayers listed are (for one reason or another) obviously old-time "favorites", mainstays of Jewish worship.

But it is Christian liturgy which sheds the greatest light on our problem. For it has in fact been Christian practice from an early period to distinguish a group (or, rather, groups) of songs and prayers that appear in the Bible in places other than the Psalter. Indeed, these compositions have a special name: in the East they are called the Biblical "odes"<sup>(13)</sup>, and in the West, "canticles"<sup>(14)</sup>. The Codex Alexandrinus, a fifth century Biblical codex, wrote out the Biblical odes as a unit, as an appendix to the Psalter, and this practice was followed by later Bibles. No doubt the existence of a body of such odes was soon as obvious as that of the Psalter itself — any Christian, in the East or West, knew the phenomenon (I daresay knew most of the odes by heart), and churchmen extolled the virtues of singing them aloud.

What compositions were included among the "odes"? Alas, here our question becomes a bit complicated, for just as there are different versions of the Ten Songs among midrashic and later

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thought and hope, so filled with ecstasy both men and women that forming a single choir they sang hymns of thanksgiving to God their Savior, the men led by the prophet Moses and the women by the prophetess Miriam. It is on this model above all that the choir of the Therapeutae of either sex, with note in response to note and voice to voice, . . . create an harmonious concert, music in the truest sense". (F. H. COLSON, (ed.), *Philo's Works*, vol. 9 [Cambridge 1960] 165-167).

(<sup>13</sup>) That is, the Greek *ōdē*, "song" — these are to be distinguished from the post-biblical "odes" used in Eastern liturgy. The latter are in fact an outgrowth of the biblical odes, poetic elaborations on the themes of the biblical songs. See below, note 19; WELLESZ, *Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford 1949) 24-37; 192-215; also E. WERNER, *The Sacred Bridge* (New York 1959) 219. Biblical odes were denoted in Syriac by the word *tešbohtā'*, and were part of the Syrian rite.

(<sup>14</sup>) That is, *cantica*, a standard but not consistently employed equivalent for the Greek term.

sources, so there are competing lists of the odes or canticles. A number of scholars have assembled the different traditions<sup>(15)</sup>. All the various lists of odes draw heavily on the Hebrew canon, but almost all of them also include selections from the Apocrypha and the New Testament as well. Thus, for example, the odes assembled in the Codex Alexandrinus are:

1. The First Cantic of Moses (i.e. the Song of the Sea), Exod 15,1-19
2. The Second Cantic of Moses ("Listen O Heavens"), Deut 32,1-43
3. The Prayer of Hannah (1 Sam 2,1-10)
4. The Cantic of Isaiah the Prophet (Isa 26,9-20)
5. The Prayer of Jonah (Jonah 2,3-10)
6. The Cantic of Habakkuk (Hab 3,2-19)
7. The Prayer of Hezekiah (Isa 38,10-20)
8. The Prayer of Menasseh (Apocrypha)
9. The Prayer of Azariah (LXX Dan 3,26-45)
10. The Prayer of the Three Children (LXX Dan 3,52-88)
11. The Magnificat (Luke 1,46-55)
12. The Cantic of Simeon (Luke 2,29-32)
13. The Prophecy of Zacharias (Luke 1,68-79)
14. The Gloria<sup>(16)</sup>

Such is the first known assemblage of the texts of the odes, and, as noted, this collection was duplicated by later scribes. "The Psalter and the Odes" became a standard manuscript type. At the same time, the tradition of the biblical odes was carried on in another form — and with different entries on the list. For Biblical odes, so identified, were part of Christian liturgy. In the Byzantine rite of Jerusalem, nine Biblical odes were sung as part of the morning office on Sundays and feasts<sup>(17)</sup>; they were also sung in various combina-

<sup>(15)</sup> See H. SCHNEIDER, "Die biblischen Oden im christlichen Altertum", *Bib* 30 (1949) 28-65; 239-272; 433-452; 479-500; F. CABROL, "Cantiques", in his *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* vol. 2. (Paris 1910) 1975-1994; J. MEARNES, *The Canticles of the Christian Church* (Cambridge 1914).

<sup>(16)</sup> See SCHNEIDER, "Oden", 52-53

<sup>(17)</sup> The nine had all been included among the fourteen of Codex Alexandrinus. They were the canticles of: 1) Exod 15; 2) Deut 32; 3) 1 Sam 2;

tions during Lent<sup>(18)</sup>. As such, the "Nine Odes" became a liturgical entity, and this grouping was, for a time at least, propagated through the medium of the divine Office<sup>(19)</sup>. Similarly, in the West, the Rule of St. Benedict (c. 540) prescribed that a different Old Testament canticle (i.e. ode) be sung in Lauds each day of the week, "*sicut psallat Romana ecclesia*" — this last phrase suggesting that in Rome, at least, it had for some time been customary to sing a daily canticle. Benedict does not list the canticles to be used here, but later sources specify the canticles of Exod 15; Deut 32; 1 Sam 2; Isa 12,1-6 (The Canticle of Isaiah); Isa 38,10-20 (The Prayer of Hezekiah), and Dan 3,57 (The Canticle of the Three Children). Other canticles — identified as such — were specifically associated in different rites with various feasts and holy days. Later periods introduced new variations. In all, at least two dozen separate passages from the Hebrew Bible came to be distinguished as odes or canticles in different rites, and to unravel the history of their transmission and interaction is a task as fascinating as it is challenging.

It is not our task here, however. For what is chiefly of interest is not the later elaboration of the tradition, but its very beginning — and here, scholars have come up with a blank. None of those who have investigated the odes has discovered where the concept itself originated, other than "the East"; it is generally assumed, however, to have been a Christian adoption of an early Jewish practice. In favor of this hypothesis is, among other points, the striking predominance of Old Testament texts in the various compilations. On the other hand, there is no real cognate in Judaism to the role of the odes or canticles in Christian liturgy. If Christianity adopted the liturgical rendering of biblical odes — as distinct from Psalms — from some Jewish practice, what was that Jewish practice, and why

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4) Hab 3; 5) Isa 26; 6) Jonah 2; 7) Dan 3,26-45. 52-56; 8) Dan 3,57-88; 9) Luke 1,46-55. 68-79.

<sup>(18)</sup> See on this M. VELIMIROVIČ *et al.*, "Canticle", in S. SADIE (ed.) *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London 1980) III, 724-726.

<sup>(19)</sup> During the seventh century, it became the practice to paraphrase the substance of the odes in poetic form, and these paraphrases were soon substituted for the odes in the service — they eventually led to the development of the *kanōn* cycle, which is still used in the morning office of the Greek Orthodox Church. See VELIMIROVIČ, "Canticle"; WELLESZ, *Byzantine Music*.

is there so little present-day evidence to substantiate its existence<sup>(20)</sup>?

Whether or not Jewish communities assigned some special liturgical significance to songs-outside-the — Psalter (i.e. odes)<sup>(21)</sup>, there

<sup>(20)</sup> See WERNER, *Sacred Bridge*, 140.

<sup>(21)</sup> That individual songs and prayers from outside the Psalter did enter the liturgy is of course clear, and the importance of some of these “canticles” is not to be underestimated (above, note 12). But the question here alluded to is, more specifically, did such extra-Psalter passages have, *ipso facto*, some sort of special status and/or role? A number of issues are suggestive in this regard. The Jerusalem Talmud (*Megilla* 3:7) records the following: “R. Yonatan the scribe [teacher] of Gufta came down here. He saw [R.] Abuna the scribe read the Song of the Well (Num. 21:17) and make a benediction before and after it. He objected: ‘Is this how one does?’ He replied: ‘Are you yet ignorant in regard to this? All the songs require a benediction before them and after them...’ (*kol haššîrôt tē’ûnôt bēṛākâ lipnēhen ûlē’ahārēhen*)”. Whether the expression *kol haššîrôt* is intended to designate “all the songs of the Pentateuch”, “all the *šîrôt*” or yet something else (see J. MUELLER, *Massechet Soferim* [Leipzig 1878] 163), one may at least observe: 1) the existence of a group of texts referred to collectively as “*haššîrôt*”, 2) the fact that *šîrat habbē’ēr* (Num 21,17) is included in such a group (and cf., incidentally, later in the same halakha of the Yerušalmi the phrase “*šîrat hayyām wēšîrat dēbôrâ...*”), and 3) the fact that reciting or singing these *šîrôt* is somehow considered, at least in the view expressed by Abuna, as special, requiring a benediction before and after. In connection with this last, it is to be noted that the recitation of songs had a festive element and perhaps as such required a benediction — cf. the “blessing of song” (*birkat haššîr*) mentioned in the Mishna (*Pes.* 10:7), on which see D. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Haggādā šel pesaḥ wētôldôtêha* (Jerusalem 1969) 64-68. The Talmud (b. RH 31a) speaks of the liturgical rendering of various songs in the Temple, not only (as is well known) that of Deut 32, but others: “At the afternoon sacrifice of the Sabbath, what did they [the Levites] say? R. Yohanan said: ‘Then sang...’ and ‘Who is like You...’ and ‘Then sang...’” Rashi states that the first “Then sang...” refers to the first part of the song in Exod 15, “Who is like You...” to the second part, and the second “Then sang...” to the Song of the Well (Num 21,17). The fact that this last song, so brief and rather uninspiring (see below), was apparently included is certainly significant. As for the incorporation of the Song of the Sea into the synagogue liturgy, see I. M. ELBOGEN, *Hattēfilā bisrā’el* (Tel Aviv 1972), 67 and 89. Note the separation of this song (and Deut 32) from the daily psalms in S. ASAF, *Dinaburg Memorial Volume* (Jerusalem 1949) 119-20, as well as in Maimonides’ *Code*: “There are some places where people have the custom every day, after they say the benediction ‘*Yištabbah*’, to read the Song of the Sea, and after that they say the benedictions over ‘*Šēma*’. And there are places where they read the Song of Moses (Deut 32), and there are individuals who read

is, I think, some basis for connecting the Christian tradition of the odes with Judaism — and specifically with our passage in the *Mekilta*'. Of course, if one considers the odes listed in Codex Alexandrinus, such a hypothesis seems to lack promise, to say the least: of the nine Old Testament odes it contains, only two coincide with the *Mekilta*' list, the song of the Sea (Exod 15) and the Farewell Song of Moses (Deut 32). Yet, this notwithstanding, it is striking that both lists have, beyond their particular divergences, a basic similarity. They are both *historical* lists, presenting their items in the order in which, according to their authors' best knowledge, they were uttered. This is, of course, not surprising in the case of the *Mekilta*' list — it presents itself as a historical catalogue! But the odes attached to Codex Alexandrinus could have been presented in any order — the most logical, it seems, would have been to put them in the order in which they appear in the Bible itself. That this obvious choice is foregone, that the order is rigorously historical, is certainly of significance<sup>(22)</sup>.

The connection of the Christian tradition with our midrash will look even a bit more promising when one considers some of the antecedents of the odes-group in Codex Alexandrinus. For while the latter was the first compilation of *texts*, it was not the first actual list of Biblical odes. Several documents from the fourth and even third centuries present such lists, and it is precisely the earliest of these, Origen's *Commentary* and *First Homily* on the Song of Songs, which suggest a connection between our *Mekilta*' passage and the Christian tradition of biblical "odes" or "canticles".

Origen's first homily<sup>(23)</sup> begins with the question of the title, Song of Songs, which he compares to other biblical phrases, "Holy of Holies" and "Sabbath of Sabbaths"<sup>(24)</sup>. These phrases Origen

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both *širôt*, all goes according to the custom", (*Hilkôt Tēfillâ*, 7:3). Perhaps the fact that these songs are also part of the Torah places them in a special category; cf. *Yalqût Tēhillîm* 876 *ad* Ps 119,12.

<sup>(22)</sup> Perhaps as well the fact that there are nine Old Testament odes in this list ought to be noted, for we have seen in the *Mekhilta*, the Song of Songs Targum, and other listings, a tradition of nine past songs plus an eschatological song-in-time-to-come.

<sup>(23)</sup> Preserved only in Jerome's translation, PG 13: 37-47; cf. W. A. BA-  
EHRENS, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 8 (Leipzig 1925) 27.

<sup>(24)</sup> That is, the LXX translation of *šabbat šabbātôn* in Lev 16,31 and 23,32.

interprets not simply as superlatives, but as embodying an idea of sequence as well: "Just as the man who enters the holy precincts is in need of much more before he be worthy of entering into the holy places of holy places; and just as he who celebrates the Sabbath, which was established by God for the people, still needs many things before he can perform the Sabbaths of Sabbaths; so similarly is it difficult to find one who, having wandered over all the canticles which are contained in Scripture, is worthy of climbing to the Canticles of Canticles". He then proceeds to delineate what such a Scriptural tour of canticles would entail. The passage is relatively short, so I will cite it in its entirety:

It is necessary that you go out from Egypt, and, once you have left the land of Egypt, that you cross the Red Sea, so that you may sing the first canticle, saying "Let us sing to the Lord, for he is gloriously magnified" (Exod 15,1). However, while you will have uttered the first canticle, you are still a long way from the Canticle of Canticles. Walk in spirit the land of the desert until you come to the well which the kings dug, and there you will sing the second canticle (Num 21,17). After that, come near to the Holy Land, and standing on the bank of the Jordan sing the canticle of Moses, saying, "Listen, O Heaven, and I will speak, and let the earth hear the words of my mouth" (Deut 32,1). Again you will find it necessary that you act as a soldier in order to take possession of the Holy Land as an inheritance; and a bee shall prophesy to you and a bee judge you — for "Deborah" is translated as "bee" — so that you may utter that song which is contained in the book of Judges (Judg 5,1). Thereafter, climbing to the Book of Kings, come to the canticle [sung] when David fled from the hand of all his enemies and from the hand of Saul, and said: "The Lord is my stay and my strength and my refuge and my liberator" (2 Sam 22,1). Then you ought to arrive at Isaiah, and say with him: "I will sing to the beloved a canticle of my vineyard" (Isa 5,1). And when you have crossed the whole world, climb to higher things, so that you may, as a fair soul with her spouse, then sing this Canticle of Canticles (Song of Songs).

This is, indeed, a striking catalogue. First, one ought to note that five of Origen's songs appear on the *Mēkiltā'* list, as well as that at the beginning of the Targum of the Song of Songs and, in fact, on other lists cited (*Midraš Tanḥûmā'*, *Midraš Leqaḥ Tōb*, *Yal-qûṭ Šim'ônî*, *Ba'al Haṭṭûrîm*, etc.). It does thus seem to represent something close to the "common core" alluded to earlier. It is also striking that Origen shares with the Song of Songs Targum the basic conception of Solomon's Song as a kind of ultimate, the culmination of a series. (While the Targum's list is strictly historical, however,



Origen has in typical fashion spiritualized and abstracted this trek: no longer is the journeyer the people Israel but the individual soul; he travels not through time, but through disembodied Scripture. And yet, as will be seen presently, Origen was not unfamiliar with the strictly historical sort of catalogue).

What is ultimately most striking in his list, however, is the choice of songs he presents. First of all, there are no New Testament songs mentioned, not even the Magnificat which figures on so many later Christian lists. And secondly, what songs does he choose? Why choose so puny a song as the "Song of the Well", hardly two verses long, when Scripture offers so many other, far more stirring anthems? Where is Hannah's Prayer — Hannah who, for Christians, is an important type of the Church and of Mary — indeed, whose hymn is a prefiguring of Mary's Magnificat? Where are the songs that mark the great events of Israel's history, or alternately which foreshadow the great events of the Gospels? Where is Jonah's prayer from the belly of the great Fish? Where the prayer of the Three Children? And on the other hand, why choose from Isaiah a song of reproach and doom like that of Isa 5, when one has the eschatological resonances of Isa 26? Lastly, why are only seven songs named? If (as the various midrashic texts unanimously suggest) the tradition we are dealing with held that ten songs mark ten decisive points in Israel's history, why, in this possibly earliest datable version of that tradition, is the element "ten" missing? What then was the tradition's original form?

These questions become all the more telling when one juxtaposes Origen's list with the remark in the *Mēkiltā'* about all the past songs being in the feminine form "*šîrâ*". For the fact is, Origen's list comes very close to fitting that description. There are five, no more and no less, compositions in the Bible which the text itself labels as "*šîrâ*". They are: the Song of the Sea, the Song of the Well, Moses' Farewell Song (*Ha'ăzînû*), David's Song in 2 Sam 22, and Isaiah's Song of the Vineyard. Origen's "past songs" consist of these five, plus a sixth, the Song of Deborah. Now why Origen should have included Deborah's Song is a question to which we will return presently. But it is certainly worthy of note that in this early snapshot of the Christian tradition of biblical odes — a tradition that soon was to be expanded to include nine, ten, or still more odes and canticles — one may be able to discern the outlines of an Ur-midrash. In that version, the Mekhilta's initial question *wēkî šîrâ*

'*aḥat hî*', means not "Is there but one song?" but more precisely "Is there but one *šîrâ*, is there only one entity graced by this unusual feminine form?" And the answer is no, that when you look at it, there are several songs in Scripture that bear this distinctive name, and each of them marks a significant event in the people's history, in fact, they together make up a set of significant milestones in Israel's historic journey. But, our anonymous homilist adds, why was the feminine form used for all these significant songs? All these past songs were called *šîrâ* to teach us that, just as a female gives birth, so today's triumph gives way to tomorrow's downfall. But the song of the time to come — and here you may pick and choose, making your eschatological favorite be the Song of Songs, or Isa 30, or Isa 42, or anything else called *šîr* — the future song is spoken of in the masculine form to teach us that it will be succeeded by no defeat, but on-going salvation.

Origen, of course, had extensive contacts with Jews<sup>(25)</sup>, and it is entirely reasonable to suppose that this midrash — for that is what it is — is not of his own making. It is interesting, in this connection, to consider another version of the same list that appears in Origen's commentary on Song of Songs, a considerably lengthier work than his first homily. Here he presents the identical list, save that in place of Isa 5 he substitutes the Song of Asaph in 1 Chr 16,8. Yet he notes at the conclusion of his catalogue:

"But if anyone thinks that the canticle of Isaiah should be included with the others — though it may not be very suitable that the canticle of Isaiah should seem to have preceded [the Song of Songs], seeing that Isaiah wrote it much later — if nevertheless anyone is of the opinion that the prophetic utterances are to be adjudged according to their content rather than their date, let him then add that song as well, and say that this song that Solomon sang is the Song of Songs not only in regard to those that were sung before it, but also in respect to those that came after it in time [i.e. it is the best song, the song of all songs]"<sup>(26)</sup>.

The meaning is clear. From the standpoint of chronology, Origen feels, as well as with regard to its significance, Isaiah's song does not belong on the list. Asaph's song, marking the dedication

<sup>(25)</sup> See in general N. R. M. DE LANGE, *Origen and the Jews* (Cambridge 1976) and R. KIMELMAN, *R. Yohanan of Tiberias* (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1977).

<sup>(26)</sup> BAEHRENS, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 8, p. 83.

of the Temple, surely the high point of Israel's glory, makes much more sense, and he therefore substitutes it, completing the march in time from Moses to Solomon and leading beautifully into the Song of Songs. And yet: something bothers him. He must make mention of Isaiah's *šîrâ* precisely because he knows it really belongs there — either because he knows which songs belong even though he is ignorant of the *šîrâ*-vs-*šîr* theme, or, equally possible, because he knows fully well the original *raison d'être* of the catalogue (*šîr* vs. *šîrâ*) but has decided to abandon it since to a Greek-speaking audience the distinction is meaningless, and has adopted in its place a purely chronological list. For whatever reason, one can also see in comparing these two lists the whole drift that was to be followed by later Christian lists of odes, their purely chronological character, and the path leading to the eventual inclusion of Apocryphal and New Testament songs.

Yet why should even Hebrew-speaking audiences ever have lost sight of the point of the midrash, the contrast between *šîr* and *šîrâ*? Indeed, why should the *Mekiltâ*' text still preserve its remark about masculine and feminine forms in the midst of a list that contradicts this observation?

Perhaps the answer lies in the very ambiguity of the distinction between *šîr* and *šîrâ*. For how was a *šîrâ* different from a *šîr*? There are many possible answers: perhaps the feminine form was used for longer compositions<sup>(27)</sup>, or perhaps for a certain type of song, a song of praise and thanksgiving, indeed, something corresponding to the Greek ode<sup>(28)</sup>, or perhaps for a song that was to be

<sup>(27)</sup> The brevity of Num 21,17 would seem to contradict this, but the verses cited are clearly excerpted from a longer composition. The song of Isa 5 is not very long either, but here, one feels, the whole expression *šîrat dôdî* is in any case used metaphorically. Note that the term *šîrâ* was used in medieval times specifically to denote a *long* poem; see H. YALON's edition of *Šeqel haqqōdeš* (Jerusalem 1965) 64.

<sup>(28)</sup> Rabbinic use of *šîrâ* seems to view the word consistently as denoting a "song of praise and thanksgiving". A *šîrâ* is appropriate on any occasion when thanks are due. This is clearly the point of *Šemot Rabba* 23:4 — "From the time God created the world until Israel stood at the sea, we find no one who uttered thanksgiving (*'amar šîrâ*) to God save for Israel. He created Adam, but he did not utter a *šîrâ*. He saved Abraham from the furnace and from the kings but he did not utter a *šîrâ*. Similarly [he saved] Isaac from the knife, but he did not utter a *šîrâ*. And similarly [he saved]

performed in a certain way, e.g. with a repeated refrain<sup>(29)</sup>. Whatever the case, for five of Origen's six *šîrôt* the reason for their now being known by the feminine form is obvious enough: the Bible introduces them as *šîrôt*, thus "'āz yāšîr mōšeh ūbnê yišrā'ēl 'et haššîrâ hazzō't..." and so forth. The one exception is Deborah's song, which is introduced simply by the words "Then sang Deborah..."<sup>(30)</sup>. Now one *might* say that Origen simply went astray here, that the original form of our midrash contained only a catalogue of the five songs actually called *šîrâ* in the text plus an eschatological *šîr*, and that for some reason (perhaps because Deborah's song is a rousing anthem, and one that fits snugly in the chronological gap between Moses' last *šîrâ* in Deut and David's *šîrâ* in 2 Sam), Origen decided to amend the midrash and insert a new song, just as he did elsewhere with Asaph's<sup>(31)</sup>.

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Jacob from the angel and from Esau and from the men of Shechem and he did not utter a *šîrâ*... [etc.]". Thus the phrase *šîrôt wētišbāhôt* (*M. Sukk.* 5:4, and frequently thereafter), the association of singing and praising, *šîr* and *šābbah* (above, note 11), and the equivalence of Greek *ode* and Syriac *tešbohta* (above, note 13).

<sup>(29)</sup> This might well be true of all the *šîrôt* mentioned. Note especially the attention devoted to the antiphonal rendition of Exod 15 in Philo, Josephus, *Mēmar Marqā'*, Mishna and Talmud; cf. *The Idea of Biblical Poetry*, p. 116. Especially suggestive is the antiphonal pattern in which the chorus chants a refrain phrase to complete each verse. This pattern is specifically attested in some of the above-mentioned texts, as well as in the Byzantine rendering of Exod 15, and it is precisely this antiphonal pattern that characterizes the treatment of biblical odes (and the poetic odes, their offspring) in Byzantine liturgy; see WELLESZ, *Byzantine Music*, 24-37. Note also that MOSES IBN TIBBON associates the feminine term *šîrâ* with refrain-songs; see his *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (Lyck 1874) 7.

<sup>(30)</sup> Indeed, this song calls itself a "*šîr*" later on: 'ûrî 'ûrî dēbôrâ 'ûrî 'ûrî dabbērî *šîr* (verse 12).

<sup>(31)</sup> PHILO of Carpasia (in Cyprus), writing in the fourth century, omits Deborah's song from his brief list: "For several songs are written in the holy Scriptures. Consider the canticle of Moses: 'Let us sing to the Lord', he says, 'for he is gloriously glorified', and the other songs and odes which you will find in the Law [presumably: the Song of the Well in Num 21 and Moses' Song in Deut 32]. Consider the song and ode of Isaiah, 'I will sing to my love a song of love, to my vineyard'. Consider the ode which Hanna sang, 'My heart', she said, 'is strengthened in the Lord'. Consider also certain of the songs that are in the Psalms, 'Sing to the Lord a new song', and the other songs which you will find in the Scriptures". PG 40:29-31. See also H. SCHNEIDER, "Oden", 51.

But I suspect that, in including Deborah's song, Origen is being quite faithful to his midrashic source. For in rabbinic writings, the song of Deborah is universally known as *šîrat dēbôrâ*. Moreover, in scribal practice it shares with two other songs, both called *šîrâ*, the distinction of being written in the alternating pattern known in Talmudic parlance as "large brick over small brick, small over large" (32). In other words, despite the lack of Scriptural support, there seems to have been a substantial tradition of calling Deborah's song a *šîrâ* and associating it with the other *šîrôt*. Where could such a tradition find its start? *De deux choses l'une*. Either the name *šîrâ* does represent some real distinction from *šîr* — in subject, genre, or manner of performance — and whatever that distinction might have been, Deborah's song qualified and bore the name from hoariest antiquity; or *šîrâ* is simply a variant form of *šîr* without additional significance, in which case one must explain later usage as a convention derived from the caprice of Scripture. If the latter is true, Deborah's song must have acquired its name by being associated in some fundamental way with the songs that *are* called *šîrâ* in the Bible — or perhaps even because, in another text-form, the word *šîrâ* actually appeared (33).

In any case, that it was *šîrat dēbôrâ*, that Deborah's song was in every way comparable to that of Moses or David and hence belonged in a catalogue of historic *šîrôt*, could, at a certain point and in certain quarters, have seemed only obvious. And yet: if we put

(32) *Idea of Biblical Poetry*, 119-127.

(33) For the former possibility, the role of the targum is potentially important; cf. above, note 11. For the latter, note that the Codex Vaticanus of the Septuagint inserts the phrase "this ode" (= *haššîrâ hazzō't*?) in the introductory verse to Deborah's song (Judg 5,1). If such a text-form ever circulated in Hebrew, it certainly would account for the usage *šîrat dēbôrâ* in rabbinic texts. Note also that all the Septuagint texts translate *šîr* in v. 12 as "ōdē". However, this cannot argue strongly for the word *šîrâ* in its Vorlage — the Septuagint uses *ōdē* for a few other songs not called *šîrâ* in the Hebrew. In fact, the songs of the Hebrew canon from outside the Psalter which are called *ōdē* by the Septuagint are these: Exod 15; Deut 32; Judg 5; 2 Sam 22b; Solomon's words in 1 Kgs 8,12, by implication, since the LXX attributes them to the "Book of Odes"; 1 Chr 16,8 (Asaph's Song), entitled "ode" in the LXX; Jonah 2; Hab 3; and Isaiah's songs in Chaps. 5, 26, and 38. As a comparison with later Christian lists of odes will confirm, the usage of the word *ōdē* in the LXX has apparently been crucial in shaping the tradition.

ourselves in Origen's shoes, this is precisely the entry that might sabotage the whole list. For if one knows only Scripture, there is no good reason for calling Deborah's song a *šîrâ*<sup>(34)</sup>. If it is nevertheless included in the catalogue, then some other rationale (besides the *šîr/šîrâ* one) must be found for listing a particular group of songs. And the obvious one is that the songs are chosen because they mark great victories in Israel's history. If so, it is easy to see how certain entries might, under the new rationale, eventually be removed from the list, or how, in the Jewish tradition, an original list of six-*šîrôt*-plus-one-*šîr*, making an apparently conventional catalogue of seven, could give way to the equally conventional catalogue of ten.

In sum: our midrash's original question, *wěkî šîrâ 'aḥat hî'*, meant quite specifically "Is there only one *šîrâ*?" (the Bible's phrase, "this song", [Exod 15,1] implied the existence of other *šîrôt*). The answer to this question was a catalogue of the other *šîrôt*, followed by the observation (still preserved in the *Mēkiltā'* text) that past triumphs were marked by songs in the feminine form because they were followed by periods of subjection, but that the future eschatological *šîr* will be masculine because the victory will be everlasting. At a certain point, however — perhaps because of the difficulty of justifying the presence of Deborah's song on the list, since it is not called *šîrâ* in the Masoretic text — the point of the catalogue was missed. For the very same words of our midrash were subject to an entirely different interpretation. The catalogue now was read no longer as a collection of songs called by the feminine form, but simply as a collection of songs — *šîrîm*, *šîrôt*, or what have you — sung at significant moments in Israel's history. Representative of this new view is the follow-up (and, if I am right, interpolated) question, *wěḥālō' 'ešer šîrôt hēn*, "And are there not ten songs?" Here the term *šîrôt* just means "songs". (The feminine form was used because *šîrâ* was employed in the previous question, but otherwise

(34) That Origen was aware of Deborah's song as being not a true *šîrâ* but only a *šîr* may be reflected in the Latin translation of Origen's lost original. Here all the songs called in the Bible by the term *šîrâ* are referred to as *cantica*, likely reflecting, as we have seen, Greek *ōdē*. But Deborah's song is — quite pointedly, so it seems — not called *canticum*, but *carmen*. Note, however, that Jerome's Vulgate was quite inconsistent in the way it translated *šîrâ*, sometimes using *canticum*, sometimes *carmen* — once switching within a single verse: see Deut 31,19.

the term *šîrîm* might have as easily appeared, for, in *this* midrashist's view, *šîr* and *šîrâ* are synonyms). Such a list of significant songs in Israel's history is the sort of compiling job midrashists love to tackle — consider, e.g. the catalogue of songs in *Bab. Pesahim* 117a — so the “new” understanding of the list's purpose was hardly inappropriate, indeed, it was not long before the original list of seven songs was expanded to ten, allowing for the inclusion and substitution of songs more fitting for a catalogue of Israel's high-points. The same thing happened among Christians, where we can see the process at work even in Origen's two competing lists, the one representative of the original tradition, the other already somewhat “rationalized” by the substitution of Asaph's song for Isaiah's<sup>(35)</sup>.

No doubt later variants on the lists, both Christian and Jewish, were influenced by a variety of factors. The Song of the Well in Num 21 was hardly an appropriate entry for odes that were actually to be sung. As the sixth century commentator Verecundus writes in his own discussion of the canticles:

The second canticle is that of Numbers, which the princes sang while they dug a well with their scepters; which, however, on account of its extreme brevity, it is not customary to sing in the ecclesiastical psalmody<sup>(36)</sup>.

(Verecundus other odes are: Exod 15; Deut 32; Judg 5; and “the others which come down excerpted from the body of the Prophets”). It is easy to see how the Song of the Well might have disappeared from subsequent lists. Perhaps, as well, genuine confusions entered in: since it was the custom of both Jews and Christians to identify some of the songs by their reputed authors or by the biblical books in which they appear, one can easily imagine how the “Ode of Isaiah” could jump from Isa 5 to Isa 26, or how “the *šîrâ* in the book of Samuel” (to distinguish it from the version of the same *šîrâ* that appears in the Psalter as Ps 18) might be misunderstood to mean the song with which that book begins, namely, Hannah's (1 Sam 2,19). Greek writers may initially have been constrained to choose their odes from among compositions actually labeled *ōdē* in the Septuagint, but Latin writers are more varied, all

<sup>(35)</sup> Cf. ORIGEN'S homily on *Judges*, PG 12: 976-977. Here he adds to his list the “song of the First Book of Reigns” (= 1 Sam 2?) and also mentions canticles “in many other places”.

<sup>(36)</sup> J. B. PITRA, *Spicilegium Solesmense* vol. 4 (Paris 1858) 1.

the more so because (as noted) Jerome's Vulgate uses the word *canticum* somewhat indiscriminately, coinciding neither with all the LXX uses of *ōdē* nor with Hebrew *šîrâ*. Passages in the Bible attributed to the *Sēper hayyāšār* (in the LXX to 1 Kgs 8,53 [= 8,12-13] it appears as "the book of Odes") were logical candidates; among Jews, as well, the precise wording of different targums or the midrashic association of one song or prayer with another on the basis of some textual similarity — these too might have had their influence<sup>(37)</sup>.

In any case, Origen's list of biblical odes, as indeed later Christian lists, seems to show that the "ten" part of this catalogue is a later refinement. For it is hardly likely that Origen in the third century had inherited a Jewish tradition of ten songs and then pared the list down to seven — and still more unlikely that he pared it down to exclude the mighty songs and speeches found in the *Mekiltā'* or Targum lists but left in such poor entries as the Song of the Well in Num 21 or Isaiah's Song in Chapter 5. The presence of these two on his list can point to only one original rationale: the distinction between *šîr* and *šîrâ*.

One question remains. If the connection between various midrashic versions of the tradition of Biblical *šîrôt* and Origen's list of odes in his Song of Songs homily and commentary has been established, does this then mean that the whole Christian tradition of singing the biblical odes is nothing more than an elaboration of our midrash? I think the answer to this question must be no. That Origen's list was influential, and that at a certain point it began to shape the repertoire of biblical odes, seems entirely likely; but my own guess (it is no more than that) is that, long before Origen's time, there existed a tradition of reciting a body of songs and prayers drawn from outside the Psalter<sup>(38)</sup>. To insert biblical words of praise or supplication into the mouths of congregants — words whose actual historical setting is known and about which, in some cases, the narrative records that they brought favorable results — to put such words in the congregation's mouth is to supply them with precisely that which is most likely to find favor in God's eyes. That behind the Christian odes, and perhaps even behind some of the

<sup>(37)</sup> *Idea of Biblical Poetry*, 134n, 253.

<sup>(38)</sup> Paul's curious phrase, "psalms, hymns and spiritual odes" (Eph 5,19) has often been scrutinized in this regard; see WELLESZ, *Byzantine music*, 25-34.



entries on the midrashic lists of Ten Songs, there stands some early liturgical practice, seems not only possible but likely. But to suggest this is to raise a host of new questions. If there ever was such a Jewish liturgical tradition, are there any traces of it surviving in later liturgies or in rabbinic texts?<sup>(39)</sup> Indeed, what was intended by this collection called the Psalter — why did it exclude such presumably well-known songs and prayers as Exod 15, Deut 32, Judg 5, etc. etc.?<sup>(40)</sup> Is it possible that there was some difference — a difference in kind, or in liturgical practice — that made their exclusion necessary? And if such a practice of reciting songs and prayers from outside the Psalter did in fact exist, would it not — once the *šîr-šîrâ* rationale of our midrash was lost — act as a repository of potential candidates for a new expanded list of ten significant songs, some of which, as we have seen, are really not songs at all, but prayers or speeches? Perhaps, when these questions can be answered definitively, we shall have the full story of the midrash, “Is there but one *šîrâ*?”

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<sup>(39)</sup> See above, note 21.

<sup>(40)</sup> One might say they were excluded because the Psalter was conceived as a Davidic collection; but this is clearly contradicted by the attribution of Ps 90 to Moses, Ps 72 to Solomon, as well as the common superscriptions to Asaph, Asaphides, Korahides, etc. It is of course possible that the very idea of a constant concept of what the “Psalter” should be is a mistaken assumption — i.e. that the concept, as well as the contents, evolved; cf. B. CHILDS, “Psalm Titles and Midrashic Exegesis”, *JSS* 16 (1971) 138-139.

My thanks to friends and colleagues who have given their help with this article, especially Robert Brody, Isaac Gottlieb, Wayne Meeks, and Emanuel Tov. Professor Gottlieb has pointed out that Origen’s emphasis in his commentary on the bridegroom’s manliness *and hence that of his song* (i.e. the Song of Songs) may reflect the same midrashic motif of masculine *šîr* vs. feminine *šîrôt*. Indeed, in a sentence just before he presents the list of *šîrôt* cited above, Origen asserts that the songs of the Law and the Prophets were sung to the young girl before she was mature, but now, grown up, she is “able to receive manly power”, i.e., to hear this Song of Songs from the bridegroom’s own lips (“*Videntur enim cetera cantica, quae lex et prophetae cecinerunt, parvulae adhuc sponsae, et quae nondum vestibula maturae aetatis ingressa sit, decantata, hoc vero canticum adultae iam et valde robustae et quae capax sit virilis potentiae perfectique mysterii, decantari*”).

## SOMMAIRE

Selon une vieille tradition midrachique, il existe dans l'AT dix chants marquant dix tournants capitaux dans l'histoire du peuple d'Israël. Certaines versions de ce midrash ajoutent que tous les chants du passé sont désignés par la forme féminine *šîrâ*, tandis que celui qui sera chanté à la fin des jours est désigné par la forme masculine *šîr*. Cette remarque, qui ne se justifie guère dans son contexte actuel, semble se rapporter à une forme très primitive de ce midrash, dont le but aurait été d'énumérer les différentes *šîrôt* de l'AT. On peut entrevoir un reflet de cette tradition chez plusieurs auteurs chrétiens, et son développement semble être lié à l'incorporation des «cantiques bibliques» dans différentes liturgies chrétiennes.

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## A New Look at Pentateuchal *HW'* \*

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One of the strangest and most peculiar forms in Biblical Hebrew is the 3rd pers. com. sing. ind. pron. *HW'* in the Pentateuch. As is well known, when used for "he" the word is pointed *hû'*, but when used for "she" the word is pointed *hî'* as a *qre perpetuum*<sup>(1)</sup>. This usage has never been satisfactorily explained; indeed the question is seldom even addressed<sup>(2)</sup>. The problem, of course, as everyone has noted, is that every Semitic language distinguishes a 3rd pers. masc. sing. pron. and a 3rd pers. fem. sing. pron.<sup>(3)</sup>, so that an epicene form in Hebrew, at least as we have it in the *ktiv* in the Pentateuch, is in need of explanation.

Before attempting my own solution to the problem, it is worth looking at the usual explanation offered by those grammarians who have tackled the situation. The general theory is that before the introduction of medial vowel letters, ancient Hebrew orthography would have called for *H'* irrespective of gender, a fact which is

\* Because this paper deals with a *qre/ktiv* problem, it has been necessary to adopt the following conventions in transliterating the Hebrew. All capitals refers to the consonantal text, e.g., *HW'*. Lower case forms refer to the vocalization based on the Masoretic pointing, e.g., *hû'* or *hî'*. The same system is used when citing Moabite and Phoenician inscriptions too; all capitals refers to the actual written form and lower case forms refer to the presumed pronunciation.

(1) The usual 3rd pers. fem. sing. pron. *HY'* occurs sporadically in the Pentateuch, in Gen 14,2; 20,5; 38,25; Lev 11,39; 13,10; 13,21; 16,31; 20,17; 21,9; Num 5,13; 5,14; for a total of eleven times. I merely make note of this now and will return to this point later.

(2) Thus, for example, in what is an otherwise excellent reference grammar, one finds no explanation offered for the *qre perpetuum* *HW'* vocalized *hî'* in J. BLAU, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Wiesbaden 1976). The same holds for the comparative work of S. MOSCATI [ed.], *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (Wiesbaden 1969), and the dictionary of L. KOEHLER and W. BAUMGARTNER, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros* (Leiden 1958).

(3) For the one exception from Old Babylonian, see below.

borne out by contemporary Moabite and Phoenician inscriptions (cf. lines 6 and 27 of the Mesha Stele and lines 9 and 13 of Byblos Inscription #10)(<sup>4</sup>). When the medial vowel letters were instituted, this form *H'* was artificially and incorrectly expanded to *HW'* throughout the Pentateuch irrespective of gender. The Masoretes recognized the error involved and reintroduced the gender distinction with the *û*-vowel for the masculine and the *î*-vowel for the feminine. This is the standard explanation for the crux at hand, and it is expressed by Bernhard Stade(<sup>5</sup>), William Wright(<sup>6</sup>), Gesenius-Kautzsch(<sup>7</sup>), Jacob Barth(<sup>8</sup>), Brown-Driver-Briggs(<sup>9</sup>), Bauer-Leander(<sup>10</sup>), and many others.

Thus virtually every major work of that great period of Hebrew grammatical study, 1870-1930, states that epicene *HW'* cannot be a correct form and that it arose due to some orthographic maneuvering during the long history of the transmission of the text. But if our advances in comparative Semitic and ancient Near Eastern studies since 1930 have taught us anything about Biblical Hebrew, it is

(<sup>4</sup>) See A. H. VAN ZYL, *The Moabites* (Leiden 1962) 168-169; and R. TOMBACK, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages* (Missoula, MT 1978) 78-79. Both of these authors, as well as all concerned with Phoenician and Moabite inscriptions, assume that *H'* was pronounced with the *û*-vowel (*hû'*) when referring to masculine nouns and with the *î*-vowel (*hî'*) when referring to feminine nouns. Naturally there is no proof that this was the case, but since gender distinction is the norm for the pronoun in Semitic, it would be foolish to conclude otherwise. Ugaritic, a language geographically, temporally, and typologically close to Phoenician, certainly had the gender distinction (*hw* for the masculine and *hy* for the feminine) in the Late Bronze Age, so it would not be too bold to conclude the same for Phoenician. See further, n. 56 below.

(<sup>5</sup>) B. STADE, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Grammatik* (Leipzig 1879) 128. Stade calls the practice "gedankenlos".

(<sup>6</sup>) W. WRIGHT, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (Cambridge 1890) 104.

(<sup>7</sup>) E. KAUTZSCH [ed.], *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, trans. by A. E. COWLEY (Oxford 1910) 107.

(<sup>8</sup>) J. BARTH, *Die Pronominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (Leipzig 1913; reprint: Hildesheim 1967) 14.

(<sup>9</sup>) F. BROWN, S. R. DRIVER, C. A. BRIGGS, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford 1906) 214-215.

(<sup>10</sup>) H. BAUER and P. LEANDER, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments* (Halle 1922; reprint: Hildesheim 1965) 248. Bauer-Leander call the practice "verständnislos!".

that we should not expunge the anomalous form from our text but rather consider it authentic and try to arrive at an explanation for it by treating the text on its own terms<sup>(11)</sup>. If this is true of the anomalous form which occurs once or twice in the Hebrew Bible, *qal wāḥômer* a form which occurs 120 times in the Hebrew Bible. In other words, it is difficult to believe that the *qre perpetuum* *HW'* vocalized *hi'* occurring 120 times in the Pentateuch is in each case the result of the scribal transmission process. One would also have to ask why only in the Pentateuch did this arise, not in the Prophets and the Writings<sup>(12)</sup>.

I would therefore proceed on the assumption that epicene *HW'* is a genuine Hebrew form. It is true that comparative Semitic is of little help to us because no other Semitic language exhibits the use of a 3rd pers. com. sing. ind. pron.<sup>(13)</sup>. But other languages used in the area did employ a common form for the 3rd pers. sing. pron., albeit non-Semitic languages such as Hurrian and Hittite. The evidence which I will present suggests that the strongest concentration of Hurrians and Hittites within Canaan was in the hill country of Judea and Samaria, whether one looks at the Patriarchs in Genesis or at the Conquest in Joshua and Judges. Thus I would propose that epicene *HW'* is the result of the Hurrian and Hittite substratum in the very area where Hebrew first appears as a distinct dialect of the Canaanite language. In other words, far from being an incorrect and artificial form, epicene *HW'* was actually used during the earliest stage of the history of the Hebrew language, a conclusion which, as we will discuss below, has far-reaching effects for Pentateuchal criticism.

<sup>(11)</sup> Cf. G. BONFANTE, "On Reconstruction and Linguistic Method", *Word* 1 (1945) 133-134, who states: "'anomalous' forms are, therefore, 'survivals', fossils, remainders of past linguistic systems".

<sup>(12)</sup> Actually the same *qre* does occur in 1 Kgs 17,15; Isa 30,33; Job 31,11, but they do not affect the present problem in any substantial manner. I am also aware that a few more instances may be found in the St. Petersburg MS of the Latter Prophets with Babylonian pointing published by H. L. STRACK, *Prophetarum posteriorum Codex babilonicus Petropolitanus* (Petropoli 1876). How these examples affect our understanding of epicene *HW'* I will leave to those more qualified than I in non-Tiberian Masoretic traditions.

<sup>(13)</sup> Again, for the one exception from Old Babylonian, see below.

What is the evidence for the Hittites and the Hurrians in the Israelite hill country? First let us consider the Hittites, especially where they are mentioned in the Bible. They are most prominent in Genesis 23 where Abraham contracts to buy land from the Hittite community at large (23,3 *et passim*) and from Ephron the Hittite in particular (23,10 *et passim*) in the city of Hebron, one of the largest cities in the hill country. Extra-biblical evidence demonstrates that the negotiations and sale were conducted within the domain of Hittite law<sup>(14)</sup> so we have corroborating material to show that the citizens of Hebron in Abraham's time were indeed true Hittites. Obviously, I accept here the argument of Manfred Lehmann<sup>(15)</sup> and reject that of H. Petschow<sup>(16)</sup> and G. M. Tucker<sup>(17)</sup> that the contract reflects neo-Babylonian law.

Esau married either one or two Hittite women (Gen 26,34; 36,2) — I make no attempt here to dovetail the conflicting traditions on Esau's wives — and although her/their place of origin is not stated, we can assume that because the Patriarchs are centered in the hill country, she/they came from the same area. According to Num 13,29, the Hittites lived especially in the mountainous terrain, in contradistinction to other ethnic groups who populated the coastal plain and the Negev. David's soldier Uriah is called a Hittite who definitely resided in Jerusalem (2 Sam 11,2-3; 11,8). David had another Hittite soldier, Ahimelech (1 Sam 26,6), and although we are not told where he hailed from, because David came from Bethlehem and spent his premonarchical days in the Judean wilderness area, it would not be too bold to presume that Ahimelech likewise came from the Judean hill country if not Bethlehem itself.

Judg 1,25-26 records a very interesting tradition about Bethel in

<sup>(14)</sup> M. R. LEHMANN, "Abraham's Purchase of Machpelah and Hittite Law", *BASOR* 129 (1953) 15-18.

<sup>(15)</sup> As do W. F. ALBRIGHT in an adjoiner to Lehmann's article in *BASOR* 129 (1953) 18, n. 14; C. H. GORDON, "Abraham and the Merchants of Ura", *JNES* 17 (1958) 29; J. BRIGHT, *A History of Israel* (Philadelphia 1972) 79, n. 24; and K. A. KITCHEN, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* (Downers Grove, IL. 1966) 154-156.

<sup>(16)</sup> H. PETSCHOW, "Die neubabylonische Zwiegesprächsurkunde und Genesis 23", *JCS* 19 (1965) 103-120.

<sup>(17)</sup> G. M. TUCKER, "The Legal Background of Genesis 23", *JBL* 85 (1966) 77-84.

the mountainous region just north of Jerusalem. A local citizen who assisted the Israelites in their conquest of the city was spared (à la Rahab at Jericho in Joshua 2 and 6) and left the town for the land of the Hittites to found a new city called Luz<sup>(18)</sup> (also the name of Bethel formerly). Regardless of what is meant by the geographic designation "land of the Hittites" here — the problem arises because the Empire was destroyed in 1190 presumably before the present event in question occurred — it is generally held that the local Bethelite was a Hittite<sup>(19)</sup>. Indeed not far from Bethel at Khirbet Raddana near Ramallah a unique krater dated to the late 1200's has been found which is notably Hittite in style<sup>(20)</sup>.

Finally, any discussion of the Hittites in Judea would not be complete without mention of the oft-quoted statement by Ezekiel addressing the Jerusalemites, "your mother was a Hittite" (Ezek 16,3; 16,45). There can be little question that the Hittites in Canaan were concentrated to a great extent in the Judean hills<sup>(21)</sup>, surely in Hebron and Jerusalem and in all probability in other locales as well<sup>(22)</sup>. Who were these Hittites? In the Patriarchal period, which

(18) Yoël Arbeitman calls to my attention that Greek Λυδία is most likely a Hellenization of the indigenous Anatolian name \*ludi, and that V. Sheveroshkin, in his privately circulated materials for his planned *Comparative-Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite-Luwian Languages*, has pointed out that Anatolian \*d followed by a palatal glide or a front vowel may shift to c in Lydian resulting in free variants within the same dialect. Whatever the precise phonetic realization of this c in Lydian itself and even more importantly in the parent language of Lydian of c. 1100, it is a highly reasonable assumption that this c would be represented by the Hebrew grapheme *zayin*. Could Hebrew *lûz* reflect the Lydians' pronunciation of the name of their country (\*ludi/luzi)? This would be additional evidence for the Anatolian presence in the Israelite hill country. The d/z dialect mixture within Hebrew itself, e.g., the roots *ndr* and *nzr*, may have made a *lûz*/\**lûd* variation acceptable to the *Sprachgefühl* of the Hebrew speaker.

(19) So R. G. BOLING, *Judges* (AB; Garden City, NY 1975) 59.

(20) J. A. CALLAWAY and R. E. COOLEY, "A Salvage Excavation at Raddana in Bireh", *BASOR* 201 (1971) 15-19. Cf. A. KEMPINSKI, "Hittites in the Bible", *BAR* 5:4 (1979) 38-39, 43.

(21) I use the term "Judean hills" quite loosely because technically Jerusalem is half in Benjaminite territory and Bethel is in Ephraimite territory, though at its southern extreme on Benjamin's border.

(22) KEMPINSKI, "Hittites", 30, 34, 40-41, 43, cites evidence for Hittites in other areas of Canaan as well, e.g., Aphek, Hazor, Kfar Yehoshua, Azor, but

following Cyrus Gordon I date to the Amarna Age<sup>(23)</sup>, they are to be identified with the southern extent of the great Hittite Empire or with Hittite (mercantile) colonies established beyond the political sway of the empire. The Hittites of the Davidic period would either be the descendants of the earlier Hittite population who remained in Judea even after the diminution of power in the 1200's and eventual destruction in 1190 of the Hittite Empire, or they would be descendants of more recently arrived Hittites who penetrated southward after 1190<sup>(24)</sup>.

Roland de Vaux, most recently in his monumental work *The Early History of Israel*<sup>(25)</sup>, objected to identifying the Hittites of the Bible with the Hittites of the great Anatolian-Syrian empire. Apart from noting that no extra-Biblical sources show Hittites living in Jerusalem and Hebron and environs and from rejecting Lehmann's understanding of Genesis 23, de Vaux also saw all the Hittites mentioned in the Bible as having Semitic names. While it is true one would be hardpressed to treat Ahimelech as anything but Semitic indeed Hebrew or Canaanite, Yoël Arbeitman has shown that a large portion of the Hittite onomasticon in the Bible could be analyzed as Hittite or at least Hurro-Hittite. This holds for Uriah and Ephron mentioned above as well as for Mamre and (Qiryat) Arba<sup>(26)</sup>. Also there is a growing recognition that a sizable number of Hebrew words other than proper names may be of Hittite or Hurro-Hittite

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the concentration as I hope to have demonstrated was in the hill country. See also the references cited by Kempinski in notes 6, 7, 16 on pp. 44-45.

<sup>(23)</sup> See C. H. GORDON, "The Patriarchal Narratives", *JNES* 13 (1954) 56-59; and C. H. Gordon, *The Ancient Near East* (New York 1965) 116.

<sup>(24)</sup> So KEMPINSKI, "Hittites", 43.

<sup>(25)</sup> R. DE VAUX, *The Early History of Israel* (Philadelphia 1978) 134-136.

<sup>(26)</sup> Y. ARBEITMAN, "Luwio-Semitic *Mischname* Theophores in the Bible, on Crete, and at Troy", *Scripta Mediterranea* 3 (1982) Sec. Ia for Uriah; and Y. ARBEITMAN, "The Hittite Is Thy Mother: An Anatolian Approach to Genesis 23 (ex indo-europea lux)", in Y. ARBEITMAN and A. R. BOMHARD [eds.], *Bono Homini Donum: Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. Alexander Kerns* (Amsterdam 1981), for Mamre and (Qiryat) Arba; and Y. ARBEITMAN, "The Hittite is Thy Mother", Part II, *Scripta Mediterranea* (forthcoming) for Ephron. Not all of these etymologies may stand the test of time, but at the present state of our knowledge they should be given serious consideration.



origin. Harry Hoffner has shown this for 'ôb and *terāpîm*<sup>(27)</sup> and Chaim Rabin has presented us with a much longer list<sup>(28)</sup>.

All of the evidence points to the conclusion that indeed there was a Hittite presence in Canaan. How else could we explain the fact that the Bible includes them in each of the 18 lists of people to be driven out of the land, that Heth is included among the sons of Canaan in the ethnographic record in Gen 10,15, and that the entire land of Canaan is called "the land of the Hittites" in Josh 1,4? Furthermore, if we accept George Mendenhall's widely held theory on the correlation between the Biblical covenant and the Hittite suzerainty treaties<sup>(29)</sup>, the Hittite presence in the Israelite hill country would go a long way to explaining the historical and geographical setting necessary for such a correlation.

Even if one is not convinced of the Hittite presence in the hill country, the Hurrian evidence is more compelling. The Bible informs us that a certain Jerusalemite (probably a nobleman or mayor of sort as we shall presently see) during the Davidic period bore the title 'ārwnāh or 'āwarnāh (2 Sam 24,16-24), reflecting both variants of the Hurrian word for "lord", *iwri* and *irwi* with the Hurrian postpositive article *-ne*. (A third variant 'ornān occurs in 1 Chr 21,15-28; 2 Chr 3,1). That the word is a common noun and not a personal name is indicated by the form in 2 Sam 24,16 where the Hebrew definite article *hâ-* is attached<sup>(30)</sup>. Since this individual

(27) H. A. HOFFNER, "Second Millennium Antecedents to the Hebrew 'ôb", *JBL* 86 (1967) 385-401; and H. A. HOFFNER, "Hittite *tarpiš* and Hebrew *terāpîm*", *JNES* 27 (1968) 61-68.

(28) C. RABIN, "Hittite Words in Hebrew", *Orientalia* 32 (1963) 113-139. I do not find most of Rabin's arguments convincing, especially where good Semitic etymologies may also be proposed, but as with Arbeitman's analysis of various proper names, a number of Rabin's examples will doubtless stand the test of time. HOFFNER, *JNES* 27 (1968) 67, n. 44, agrees with this evaluation: "Of the twenty-two examples cited by Rabin, only about seven are very plausible. Yet even these reveal an appreciable cultural influence albeit indirect". I would drop his last two words since I see the contact as very direct.

(29) G. E. MENDENHALL, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh 1955); and G. E. Mendenhall, "Covenant", *IDB* 1, 714-723. Of course, not all scholars follow Mendenhall; cf. D. J. MCCARTHY, *OT Covenant* (Oxford 1972) for a survey of different opinions.

(30) For other examples of redetermination, see H. L. GINSBERG, "Ugaritic-Phoenicia", *JANESCU* 5 (1973) 136, n. 23. I have proposed an alterna-

bore the Hurrian title "the lord", probably meaning "the mayor" or "the nobleman" if not "the prince" or "the king" (meaning the royal head at the time of David's conquest of Jerusalem), we can assume that a Hurrian enclave existed in Jerusalem in the early 10th Century. It would be quite strange for a man to bear a Hurrian title for "the lord" if there were no Hurrian community for him to be lord over.

The Hurrian ruling class in Jerusalem dates back at least to the Amarna Age (=the Patriarchal period), for the king of the city in EA 285-290 is called ARAD-*hipa*, "the servant of Hep/ba". One of David's heroes from nearby Shaalbim, located 17 miles northwest of Jerusalem at the very foot of the Judean hills, is named Eli-hep/ba (Masoretic *'elyahbā'*) in 2 Sam 23,32; 1 Chr 11,33<sup>(31)</sup>. The inclusion of Hep/ba, the chief Hurrian goddess, in these names points to a strong Hurrian influence in the hill country during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages.

We may even venture to suggest that the Jebusites as a group were Hurrian, if not as a whole at least in large part. This conclusion may be arrived at by noting that *'ārawnāh/'āwarnāh*, the Hurrian overlord of Jerusalem is specifically called "the Jebusite" in 2 Sam 24,16; 24,18 (cf. *'ornān* "the Jebusite" in 1 Chr 21,15; 21,18; 21,28; 2 Chr 3,1), and that the Jebusites are always associated with Jerusalem (Josh 15,63; Judg 1,21) which we know had a king with a Hurrian theophoric name in the Amarna Age.

The Hurrian character of Jerusalem and the Jebusites is further illustrated by recognizing the proper etymology of the toponym Moriah. Although from its first occurrence in the Bible in Gen 22,2 little can be said of its location, from its second occurrence in 2 Chr 3,1 it may be noted that Moriah is in Jerusalem. Shmuel Yei-vin has given us a fine Hurrian etymology of the word, analyzing it

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tive analysis of *dnnym* in the Karatepe inscription ("The Danites", *ArOr* 49 [1981] 151-152), but Ginsberg's other examples are indisputable. The work just cited is actually my contribution to a joint article, Y. ARBEITMAN and G. RENDSBURG, "Adana Revisited", *ArOr* 49 (1981), in which Arbeitman agrees with Ginsberg regarding *dnnym* (p. 148) and cites still other redetermined forms (p. 148, n. 11).

<sup>(31)</sup> Cf. B. MAISLER (MAZAR), *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas* (Giessen 1930) 38; and ARBEITMAN, *Scripta Mediterranea* 3 (1982), Sec. Id.

as the relative particle or demonstrative pronoun *me* or *ma* plus our word *iwri*, "lord"<sup>(32)</sup>.

Another name in the Bible which is certainly Hurrian is that of Shamgar ben Anath in Judg 3,31. Regardless of what "ben Anath" refers to<sup>(33)</sup>, his own name is identifiable with Hurrian *ši-mi-ga-ri* known from Nuzi as first recognized by B. Maisler (MAZAR)<sup>(34)</sup>. To locate Shamgar is difficult but as one who fought against the Philistines, centered on the coastal plain due west of the Judean hills, it is tempting to place this hero in Judea as well. The reference to Shamgar in Judg 5,6 might suggest this, with the *'ōrāḥōt 'āqalqallōt* referring to mountain paths of the highlands as opposed to the main trade routes of the lowlands which were not under Israelite control<sup>(35)</sup>.

Still other names in the Bible are patient of Hurrian analysis, as H. L. Ginsberg and B. Maisler determined nearly a half-century ago<sup>(36)</sup>. Most important for our present purpose is to note that it is specifically in the Judahite genealogy in 1 Chronicles 2 where one finds these Hurrian names: Ahlai and Sheshan in 2,31, Peleth and Zaza in 2,33, and Shobal and Caleb in 2,50, the latter in fact being called *ben ḥūr*. Whether these people were Hurrians who became

(32) S. YEIVIN, "Marginal Glosses", *Tarbiz* 40 (1971) 396-397 [in Hebrew]. Yeivin's analysis of Moriah militates against the general view that 2 Chr 3,1 represents nothing more than a late tradition trying to associate the site of the Temple with the site of the binding of Isaac in Genesis 22. This view is expressed, for example, by N. M. SARNA, *Understanding Genesis* (New York 1966) 159. But if Moriah is an actual Hurrian name then its location would most likely be Jerusalem or environs.

(33) Of all the theories proposed the least probable is that it reflects his place of origin, namely, Beth-Anath in the territory of Naphtali; so W. F. ALBRIGHT, "A Revision of Early Hebrew Chronology", *JPOS* 1 (1921) 55-62; and BRIGHT, *A History of Israel*, 172. I am inclined to treat Anath here as the famous Canaanite goddess of war reflecting Shamgar's military prowess (so A. VAN SELMS, "Judge Shamgar", *VT* 14 [1964] 294-309, where however a Semitic etymology of Shamgar is offered) and/or his birth from a divine mother (so C. H. GORDON, *The Common Background of Greek and Hebrew Civilizations* [New York 1966] 61-62, 246).

(34) B. MAISLER (MAZAR), "Shamgar ben 'Anat", *PEFQS* 66 (1934) 192-194.

(35) Cf. BOLING, *Judges*, 109.

(36) H. L. GINSBERG and B. MAISLER (MAZAR), "Semitised Hurrians in Syria and Palestine", *JPOS* 14 (1934) 243-267. See also W. FELLER, "Hurritische Namen im Alten Testament", *ZA* 45 (1939) 216-229.

members of the tribe of Judah or whether they were native Semites who merely bore Hurrian names cannot be determined. In either case, however, we have additional evidence for the Hurrian substratum in the Israelite hinterland.

To the south of Judah, in Edom, were even more Hurrians. Why scholars<sup>(37)</sup> continue to deny the identification of the "Horites" of Gen 14,6; 36,20; Deut 2,12; 2,22, with the historical Hurrians is frankly beyond me. Ginsberg and Maisler would seem to have ensured the equation with their recognition of Hurrian names in the Seir genealogy in Gen 36,20-30, e.g., Shobal, Dishon, Shepho, Aran, Aian, Timna, Anah, Alvan, Zaavan.

According to the LXX, the Hurrians were even more widespread, having lived in Shechem (Gen 34,2 where MT has *hahiwwi*) in the heart of the Samaritan hills and in Gibeon (Josh 9,7 where MT again has *hahiwwi*) a bit north of Jerusalem. We need not accept the theory of E. A. Speiser<sup>(38)</sup> that *throughout* the Bible the Hivites refer to Hurrians in Canaan, but we may note that the LXX and presumably its *Vorlage* do speak of Hurrians in the very place where they would be most likely to be found given the above evidence: in the Israelite hill country. Mendenhall has also gone too far in identifying the Hivites with the Cilicians and the Levites with the Luwians (!)<sup>(39)</sup>, but at least he is on the right track in recognizing an Anatolian substratum in early Israel.

Thus there is mounting evidence supporting a Hurrian presence in Judea and perhaps Samaria during early Israelite times. Far too little is known about the Hurrians but the geographic distribution of the known onomasticon — from Nuzi to Ugarit to Jerusalem to Crete — suggests that their influence was widespread. Their influence over Canaan must certainly have been great, for one of the commonest terms in Egyptian for referring to the land is *ḥzrw*, or "Hurru-land".

Now that we have established the Hittite and Hurrian presence in Canaan, particularly in the Judean highlands, let us look at the way these languages treat the 3rd pers. sing. pron. Hittite does not

(37) Cf., e.g., DE VAUX, *The Early History of Israel*, 138.

(38) E. A. SPEISER, *Genesis* (AB; Garden City, NY 1964) 264; and E. A. SPEISER, "Hivite", *IDB* 2, 615.

(39) G. E. MENDENHALL, *The Tenth Generation* (Baltimore 1973) 154-163.

distinguish genders for this pronoun: *apā-* is the 3rd pers. com. sing. ind. pron.; the enclitics which are more widely used are *-aš* for the nominative common, *-an* for the accusative common, and *-at* for the nominative/accusative neuter, all of them epicene<sup>(40)</sup>.

When we look at Hurrian we also see no gender distinction for the 3rd pers. sing. pron. The independent form is still unattested, but the enclitic which is commonly used is *-nna* or *-n* irrespective of gender<sup>(41)</sup>. I underscore the point: both Hurrian and Hittite use epicene forms for the 3rd pers. sing. pron.

To return to our historical survey: in the Israelite hill country of c. 1500 – c. 1000, the Hittite and Hurrian elements there both used epicene forms. It is in this very area at this very time that Israel has its origins. The cities associated with the first Hebrews, the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, whom I date to the 15th and 14th Centuries, are Shechem (12,6), Bethel (12,8), Hebron (13,18), Sodom (14,17), (Jeru)salem (14,18), Gerar (20,2), Beersheba (21,31), Bethlehem (35,19)<sup>(42)</sup>. Obviously these cities are to be found in the very highlands where Hittites and Hurrians abounded, or, in the case of Gerar and Sodom for example, in fringe areas nearby.

Moreover, the social customs of the Patriarchs have their closest parallel to the Hurrian customs attested at Nuzi<sup>(43)</sup>, either because of the Hurrian influence in Canaan itself or because the Patriarchs ulti-

<sup>(40)</sup> J. FRIEDRICH, *Hethitisches Elementarbuch I* (Heidelberg 1960) 62-63.

<sup>(41)</sup> J. FRIEDRICH, "Churritisch", *Altkeinasiasische Sprachen (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abteilung 1, Band 2, Abschnitt 1-2, Lieferung 2; Leiden 1969)* 15.

<sup>(42)</sup> I cite only the first verse where each city is referred to; the book of Genesis is to be understood for each obviously.

<sup>(43)</sup> See C. H. GORDON, "Biblical Customs and the Nuzu Tablets", *BA* 3 (1940) 1-12, reprinted in D. N. FREEDMAN and E. F. CAMPBELL [eds.], *Biblical Archaeologist Reader 2* (Garden City, NY 1964) 21-33. The attack by some scholars (most notably T. L. THOMPSON, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives* [Berlin 1974] 196-297; and J. VAN SETERS, *Abraham in History and Tradition* [New Haven 1975]) on the relevance of the Nuzi tablets for understanding the patriarchal narratives has not, in my estimation, met with much approval through it still requires a full scale rebuttal. See provisionally E. M. YAMAUCHI, "Archaeology and the Scriptures", *The Seminary Review* 25 (1979) 169-173. Robert BIGGS is a first class Assyriologist but his statement that "It is now generally agreed that the Nuzi finds are of no direct relevance for the Old Testament" reflects an ignorance of Biblical scholarship ("The Ebla Tablets: An Interim Perspective", *BA* 43 [1980] 82).

mately hail from the Ur/Haran area in northern Mesopotamia near the Hurrians' greatest geographic concentration<sup>(44)</sup>. Nahum Sarna is correct in stating that "Nuzi and Haran were both part of an integrated ethnic and cultural area"<sup>(45)</sup>. The Bible refers to the Haran area as (Aram) Naharaim in Gen 24,10 and Egyptian documents apply the same term (Naharin [*nhrn* and variants] in hieroglyphic, Nahrma in the Amarna letters) to the Mitanni kingdom of the Hurrians<sup>(46)</sup>.

The Israelites left Canaan for a few generations (note that according to Exod 6,16-20 [Levi-Kohath-Amram-Moses] the lives of the generation which entered Egypt could easily have overlapped to some extent with the lives of the generation which left Egypt), but when they returned to Canaan they headed again for the highlands. The first cities conquered under Joshua and therefore the earliest Israelite settlements were Jericho (ch. 6), Ai (ch. 8), and Gibeon (ch. 10)<sup>(47)</sup>. Next, although the Israelites did not fully conquer their cities, they defeated the allied kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon (10,23). These cities are also centered in the Judean hills or foothills. Indeed the summary statement of Joshua's battles reveals that the first stage of the Israelite conquest was in the area where the Hittites and Hurrians were most prominent: "Joshua conquered the entire country [this can only refer to the whole of the southern lands]: the mountains, the Negev, the foothills, and the mountain slopes" (10,40). All of the evidence points to one conclusion: the area of Hittite and Hurrian penetration in Canaan and the area of the earliest Israelites coincided. *Here then is the answer to epicene HW' : it is the result of the Hittite and Hurrian substratum in the Israelite hill country.*

The question must now be asked, can a non-Semitic substratum have such an effect on a Semitic language? The answer is an un-

<sup>(44)</sup> For Locating Abraham's Ur near Haran, see GORDON, *JNES* 17 (1958) 28-31; and C. H. GORDON, "Abraham of Ur", in D. W. THOMAS and W. D. MCHARDY [eds.], *Hebrew and Semitic Studies* (Oxford 1963) 77-84. The report of an "Ur in Haran" in the Ebla Tablets has reopened the question; see C. H. GORDON, "Where is Abraham's Ur?" *BAR* 3:2 (1977) 20-21, 52.

<sup>(45)</sup> *Understanding Genesis*, 91.

<sup>(46)</sup> See further R. T. O'CALLAGHAN, *Aram Naharaim* (Rome 1948) *passim*, but especially 132-142 for the primary sources.

<sup>(47)</sup> Naturally all these citations are from the book of Joshua.

doubted yes, and a number of examples involving Hurrian in fact may be cited. Of all the Semitic languages, only Aramaic has a postpositive article, most probably the result of the Hurrian substratum in northern Mesopotamia<sup>(48)</sup>. Similarly, spirantization of *bgdkpt* in Hebrew and Aramaic has been ascribed to the influence of Hurrian phonetics<sup>(49)</sup>. It has also been suggested that the widespread gender confusion in the Nuzi dialect of Akkadian is the result of Hurrian interference<sup>(50)</sup>. These are but a few of the effects that Hurrian had on the Semitic languages, they are quite basic, and I am suggesting that the use of epicene *HW'* in the Pentateuch is another.

If the Hurrian substratum helps us explain epicene *HW'* in Hebrew, it may also help us explain the Old Babylonian epicene forms for the 3rd pers. sing. obl. pron., *šuāti* for the genitive/accusative and *šuāšim* for the dative<sup>(51)</sup>. They are the only other examples

(48) Pointed out to me by C. H. GORDON (oral communication). The Hurrian article is postpositive *-ne* as in 'āwarnāh/'ārawnāh. The influence of non-Semitic substrata (Hurrian, Iranian, etc.) on Aramaic has also been recognized by G. KROTKOFF, *A Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Kurdistan* (New Haven, forthcoming), § 5. I thank Professor Krotkoff for sharing these pages with me before the appearance of his monograph.

Postpositive articles appear in South Semitic as well, where they developed independently. The article is an innovation throughout Semitic (thus it does not appear in older attested languages such as Akkadian, Eblaite, Ugaritic, Minoan, and archaic Hebrew poetry) so there is no need to correlate the Aramaic article with the South Semitic data. Thus I feel we are on safe grounds in accepting Gordon's proposal of explaining the Aramaic phenomenon as a result of the Hurrian substratum. For the South Semitic material, see A. F. L. BEESTON, *A Descriptive Grammar of Epigraphic South Arabian* (London 1962) 30-31; M. HÖFNER, *Altsüdarabische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1943) 113-114; and A. DILLMANN, *Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache* (Leipzig 1899) 426. The ESA article *-n* has not survived in the modern South Arabian dialects, but the Ethiopic use of the 3rd pers. masc. sing. pron. suf. for the article may still be found in some modern dialects; see W. LESLAU, *Gafat Documents* (New Haven 1945) 43, and the works cited there.

(49) E. A. SPEISER, "Hurrians and Hittites", in E. A. SPEISER [ed.], *At the Dawn of Civilization (The World History of the Jewish People I; Givatayim/Ramat-Gan 1964)* 160.

(50) C. H. GORDON, "The Pronoun in the Nuzi Tablets", *AJSL* 51 (1934) 21; and C. H. GORDON, "The Dialect of the Nuzi Tablets", *Orientalia* 7 (1938) 231.

(51) W. VON SODEN, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (Rome 1969) 41.

within Semitic of a 3rd pers. com. sing. pron. Old Babylonian dates from the 20th to the 16th Centuries, and although Hurrian influence in Mesopotamia is greatest during the height of power of the Mitanni kingdom in the 15th and 14th Centuries, it may explain this Babylonian peculiarity<sup>(52)</sup>. In any case, this is a subject better left for Assyriologists who specialize in Old Babylonian. I merely raise the issue here and leave it for those more competent than I to settle. It is clear that Akkadian in general, not just the Nuzi variety, was subject to influences from non-Semitic substrata, for the placing of the verb at the end of the sentence, contrary to the Semitic norm, is doubtless due to Sumerian influence<sup>(53)</sup>.

It is worth pointing out that because the Hebrew dialect within the Canaanite branch was used specifically in mountainous terrain, it is not surprising to find a grammatical oddity such as epicene *HW'* preserved. Linguists have noted that geographical isolation can be a

(52) Hurrian influence will not, however, explain the occasional Middle Egyptian practice of using the Old Egyptian 3rd pers. masc. sing. ind. pron. *swt* as an epicene form. The form itself is undoubtedly an archaism, since in Middle Egyptian *ntf* and *nts* occur for "he" and "she" respectively. But why *swt* should have been extended to feminine as well as masculine usage by the Middle Egyptian archaizing scribes is unexplained. Interestingly, both Egyptian and Akkadian distinguish gender for the 3rd pers. sing. pron. in their oldest stages (Old Egyptian and Old Akkadian), but adopt an epicene usage in their next oldest stages (occasionally with *swt* in Middle Egyptian, always with *šuwāti/šuwāšim* in Old Babylonian). Of course, this statement presumes a linear development from Old Egyptian to Middle Egyptian and from Old Akkadian to Old Babylonian, situations which are not absolutely proven, especially for the latter. Cf. the brief comments by C. H. GORDON, "Echoes of Ebla", in A. I. KATSH and L. NEMOY [eds.], *Essays on the Occasion of the Seventieth Anniversary of the Dropsie University (1909-1979)* (Philadelphia 1979) 137-138.

(53) VON SODEN, 183. From Akkadian the practice of verb final spread to Aramaic. In his *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (Chicago 1974) 132-133, S. KAUFMAN assumes otherwise but informs me that on the basis of first reports about the Aramaic-Assyrian bilingual inscription from Tell Faḡariyya he has changed his opinion, and now posits Akkadian influence for the Aramaic verb final (oral communication). The only other Semitic language where placing the verb at the end is the norm is Ethiopic, but this is due to Cushitic influence; see W. Leslau, "The Influence of Cushitic on the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia: A Problem of Substratum", *Word* 1 (1945) 73. I thank Professor Leslau for pointing this reference out to me.



very conservative influence on a language<sup>(54)</sup>, thus, e.g., Icelandic is the most conservative of the Germanic languages. And although the Israelites were not isolated to the extent of being on an island hundreds of miles from other peoples, the less populated and relatively isolated hill country allowed Judean Hebrew to preserve phenomena not otherwise found in Canaanite. One example resulting from this isolation of Judean Hebrew is the retention of the diphthongs *ay* and *aw* at least in accented syllables when all other Canaanite dialects reflect monophthongization to *ê* and *ô* throughout<sup>(55)</sup>.

When the Israelites began to spread out from the hill country and come in greater contact with other Canaanite dialects, they adopted the widespread use of *HY'* (*hî'*) for the 3rd pers. fem. sing. and limited *HW'* (*hû'*) to the masculine. It is impossible to pinpoint the date of this transition, but the Davidic and Solomonic period may be posited as a *terminus ad quem*. In the international empire controlled by the Israelites, the gender distinction was obviously predominant<sup>(56)</sup> and the epicene *HW'* fell by the wayside.

There is, moreover, one verse in the Pentateuch which bears this out. Genesis 14 is a document of unquestionably early date<sup>(57)</sup>,

<sup>(54)</sup> Cf., e.g., W. CHOMSKY, *Hebrew: The Eternal Language* (Philadelphia 1957) 30.

<sup>(55)</sup> Z. S. HARRIS, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects* (New Haven 1939) 29-32. The retention of the diphthong is actually only the norm because occasional words do show monophthongization even in accented syllables, e.g., *šôr*, *yôm*, *hêq*, and such isolated instances as *hêl* in 2 Kgs 18,17; Isa 36,2; *lêl* in Isa 21,11; *gê'* in Zech 14,4.

<sup>(56)</sup> Theoretically one could assume that Phoenician also used an epicene *H'* in earlier times and then later adopted the gender distinction for the 3rd pers. sing. pron., clearly evidenced by the fem. *HY* (= *hî*) in Punic and the masc. *ou* (= *hû*) in Greek transcription. For these forms, see J. FRIEDRICH and W. RÖLLIG, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik* (Rome 1970) 46. But there would be no reason to think this since the gender distinction is the norm in Semitic and only Hebrew is anomalous in this regard. This is especially true given the Ugaritic evidence; see above, n. 4. Similarly, in theory one could assume an epicene *H'* in Moabite, but our 9th Cent. Mesha Stele if analogous to contemporary 9th Cent. Hebrew would demand the gender distinction.

<sup>(57)</sup> See SPEISER, *Genesis*, 106, where a mid-second millennium date is offered; and SARNA, *Understanding Genesis*, 111-112. I am not convinced by studies such as M. C. ASTOUR, "Political and Cosmic Symbolism in Gen-

and thus many of its onomastic entries had to be updated by later glosses (see verses 2, 3, 7, 8, 17)<sup>(58)</sup>. In one instance, verse 2, the gloss has *HY'*. That is to say, the later editor used *HY'* because he was writing at a time when this form was already entering Hebrew. That it had not totally displaced feminine *HW'* may be gathered from the fact that the older form is still used in the glosses in verses 7 and 8. Thus we may tentatively date the glosses in Genesis 14 to the transitional period in which *HY'* was gradually replacing *HW'* for the 3rd pers. fem. sing. pron. For the ten other attestations of *HY'* in the Pentateuch<sup>(59)</sup>, however, no similar conclusion may be arrived at.

Obviously I reject any possibility of orthographic confusion between *waw* and *yod* resulting in *HW'* being read for *HY'* 120 times. It is true that the two letters begin to look very much alike in late antiquity (cf. the Dead Sea Scrolls or even worse the Aramaic magic bowls), but we must then ask why only in the Pentateuch does *HW'* occur for the feminine and not in the other books. Similarly, we must ask why only in *HW'* and *HY'* does this so-called interchange occur. All of the other apparent *waw/yod* confusions may be explained morphologically, e.g., *p̄nî' ēl* in Gen 32,30 is based on the genitive *\*panî* and *p̄nû' ēl* in the next verse is based on the nominative *\*panû*, so we should seek a morphological answer and not an orthographic one to the *HW'/HY'* problem as well.

The explanation of epicene *HW'* offered herein has a profound impact on the dating of the Pentateuch. If my argument holds, then those books which use epicene *HW'*, namely, the Pentateuch, must be dated early. The Pentateuch as a whole would by necessity be dated earlier than the composition of Joshua, Judges, etc. These books were written after the introduction of the *HW'/HY'* distinction; the Pentateuch antedates the distinction. I believe that this

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esis 14 and in its Babylonian Sources", in A. ALTMANN [ed.], *Biblical Motifs* (Cambridge, Mass. 1966) 65-112, which date this chapter much later. See also M. NOTH, *Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuchs* (Stuttgart 1948) 170 [English translation: *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions*, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1972) 154].

<sup>(58)</sup> See SARNA, *Understanding Genesis*, 112; and Y. AHARONI, "Tamar and the Roads to Elath", *IEJ* 13 (1963) 32.

<sup>(59)</sup> See above, n. 1.

linguistic datum therefore vindicates the theory of Umberto Cassuto and M. H. Segal who held, contrary to most higher critics, that the Pentateuch is early<sup>(60)</sup>. Elsewhere I have collected additional linguistic evidence which points to this conclusion, such as the relatively large number of dual personal pronouns in the Pentateuch and the lack of Persianisms in the Pentateuch<sup>(61)</sup>.

If this conclusion is a blow to the dating of the Pentateuch by most higher critics, then it is also a blow to the entire JEDP schema. Those who subscribe to the Documentary Hypothesis would have us believe, regardless of my analysis of epicene *HW'*, that when writing Deuteronomy D used *HW'* for "she", but when writing his other works Joshua-Kings, he used *HY'*. This is an impossibility and obviously holds for so-called P in the Pentateuch vs. the so-called P additions to Joshua through Kings, and for any so-called JE material to be found outside the Pentateuch against the so-called JE narrative within the Pentateuch.

This paper has covered as much history and geography and textual criticism as it has linguistics, so perhaps it is best to close with a summation:

- 1) It is extremely doubtful that epicene *HW'* in the Pentateuch is an artificial form or scribal convenience resulting from the transmission of the text. Accordingly, it should be treated as a genuine Hebrew form.
- 2) The Hittites and Hurrians in Canaan were most prominent in the hill country of Judea and Samaria. Neither of their languages distinguishes gender for the 3rd pers. sing. pron.
- 3) The area of the earliest Israelites, both during the Patriarchal period and the time of the Conquest, coincides with the area of the Hittite and Hurrian penetration into Canaan. Epicene *HW'* should

<sup>(60)</sup> U. CASSUTO, *The Documentary Hypothesis* (Jerusalem 1961); and M. H. SEGAL, *The Pentateuch* (Jerusalem 1967). I do not mean to lump these two savants together indiscriminately, for I realize their theories did not agree in every detail. But in their approach and their opposition to the Documentary Hypothesis, it is convenient to refer to them in the same breath.

<sup>(61)</sup> G. RENDSBURG, "Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of 'P'", *JANESCU* 12 (1980) 65-80. The reader will also find a less detailed treatment of epicene *HW'* in this article. The present work is meant as an expansion of the idea germinated therein.

therefore be considered the result of Hittite and Hurrian influence<sup>(62)</sup>.

4) It was the earliest Hebrew which employed epicene *HW'*. When the Israelites spread out during the centuries after the initial Conquest, especially during the time of David and Solomon, normal Canaanite usage was adopted; *HW'* (*hû'*) was restricted to the masc. and *HY'* (*hî'*) was adopted for the fem.<sup>(63)</sup>.

5) This explanation of epicene *HW'* leads to the conclusion that the Pentateuch is early and that the JEDP theory cannot be correct.

In closing, a final word; near the end of my research for this article, I came across the same general conclusion by W. H. Green, who wrote more than a century ago. It is worth quoting him in full: "The explanation of this is that *HW'* *hû* was at that early period of common gender and used indifferently for both masculine and feminine. As this primitive usage subsequently became obsolete, the word, when used for feminine was read *HY'* *hî* according to the uniform practice of the later books, and the punctuators have suggested

<sup>(62)</sup> Sumerian is another Near Eastern language which does not distinguish gender for the 3rd pers. sing. pron. Obviously, by dating the Patriarchs to the Late Bronze Age and by divorcing Abraham's Ur from Ur of Sumer, I preclude any direct contact between the early Israelites and the Sumerians. Nevertheless, Hebrew and Canaanite dialects have a number of Sumerianisms imbedded in their languages, e.g., many *nomen agentis* forms, which probably go back to the 3rd Millennium. The Ebla archives are a telling witness to the great Sumerian influence in the West in pre-Israelite times. They give us a clear picture of this for Syria and it is not too dangerous to assume a similar situation in Canaan. Still, I would divorce Sumerian from our treatment of Hebrew *HW'* because other West Semitic languages and certainly Akkadian would more than likely be expected to have been affected in the same manner. In other words, if Eblaite and Akkadian were not so influenced, and they had direct contact with Sumerian, why should Biblical Hebrew have been affected. The Sumerian evidence could explain the Old Babylonian epicene forms, but then we are stuck with the question of why just Old Babylonian and not Old Akkadian and other dialects.

<sup>(63)</sup> I am well aware that until now I have skirted the issue of the quiescent *aleph* in both *HW'* and *HY'*. Comparative Semitic evidence and Dead Sea Scrolls orthography suggest that at one time they were pronounced *hû'ā* and *hî'ā*. But since the problem of the *aleph* is independent of the problem addressed in this paper, I have relegated comment on it to this one footnote.

this by giving it the corresponding vowel”<sup>(64)</sup>. Green’s conclusion is remarkably similar to mine, though naturally his was accomplished merely through intuition and/or a belief in the antiquity if not Mo-  
saicity of the Pentateuch. I hope I have supplied the historical and linguistic background necessary for reaffirming Green’s view<sup>(65)</sup>.

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### SOMMAIRE

Le Pentateuque emploie régulièrement le pron. pers. de la 3<sup>ème</sup> pers. du sing. *HW'* de façon indifférenciée. Cet épïcène est vocalisé *hû'* quand il est utilisé pour «il» et *hî'* quand il est utilisé pour «elle» (qeré perpétuel). La plupart des exégètes traitent *HW'* vocalisé *hî'* comme une forme artificielle ou une erreur scribale. On suppose ici que l'épïcène *HW'* est une forme hébraïque authentique. Puisqu'aucune autre langue sémitique ne possède pareille forme, son origine peut être cherchée dans le substrat non sémitique des régions montagneuses d'Israël. Il y a un bon nombre d'indices qui suggèrent une forte présence hittite ou hourrite précisément dans cette partie de Canaan. Aucune de ces deux langues ne distingue le genre pour la 3<sup>ème</sup> pers. du sing. du pron. pers., fait qui pourrait expliquer l'épïcène hébraïque *HW'*.

<sup>(64)</sup> W. H. GREEN, *A Grammar of the Hebrew Language* (New York 1872) 96. It is interesting that Green infers no conclusion vis-à-vis the date of the Pentateuch, perhaps because J. Wellhausen's major publications were still a few years away, e.g., his *Geschichte Israels* I (Berlin 1878) = *Prolegomenon zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin 1883).

<sup>(65)</sup> Actually other 19th Century grammarians also treated *HW'* vocalized *hî'* as a genuine form, and it is somewhat comical now to look at the great pains they went to to explain the word; cf. I. NORDHEIMER, *A Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language* I (New York 1842) 87-88; G. BICKELL, *Outlines of Hebrew Grammar* (Leipzig 1877) 62-63, n. 1; GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH, *Hebräische Grammatik*, 107, informs us that "The old explanation regarded this phenomenon as an archaism", with apparently works such as Nordheimer, Bickell, and Green in mind.; J. I. MUNRO, *A Research Into the Origin of the Third Personal Pronoun HW' Epicene in Pentateuch* (London 1912), also regards the form in question as genuine, but his philological method is so outlandish that the work is virtually useless. I refrain from any detailed criticism and cite the monograph if only for bibliographic completeness.

## Il testo massoretico di Prov 3,34

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«Dio resiste ai superbi, e dona la sua grazia agli umili». La frase è familiare al lettore cristiano. Se però vogliamo andare all'origine di questa espressione, Prov 3,34, ci troviamo di fronte a un TM singolare: 'm llšym hw' ylyš wl'nyym (Q wl'nwym) ytn hn. Notiamo come lo 'm iniziale sia stato omesso dalla LXX, la quale ha dato pure un senso nettamente spirituale a termini come lšym, 'nyym/-wym che hanno una pregnanza maggiore.

È soprattutto lo 'm che fa problema. La BHS propone la sostituzione con un 'm: ma è *lectio faciliior* che contrasta con tutta la tradizione massoretica<sup>(1)</sup>. Noi ci proponiamo di mantenerlo, e di prenderlo sul serio<sup>(2)</sup>. La questione non è soltanto formale, poiché una tale subordinata introduce anzitutto nel versetto una consequenzialità tra il primo e il secondo stico: «Se Dio si fa beffe dei beffardi, Egli dona grazia agli umili». Quale consequenzialità intercorre tra le due opposte azioni di Dio? Che relazione esiste tra queste due categorie di persone, non più opposte l'una all'altra, ma poste in rapporto di subordinazione?

Per rispondere a queste domande, lo 'm ci impone di inserire il versetto in quel discorso logico di cui è parte. È un'esortazione alla non violenza, che il v. 31 sintetizza: «Non invidiare l'uomo violento, e non scegliere nessuna delle sue vie». Oggi queste parole acquistano un'attualità drammatica. Che cosa dice il v. 34 sulla violenza?

Su questo terreno possiamo misurare la distanza che esiste tra il TM di Prov 3,34 e la citazione che ne fa la letteratura cristiana. Al di là dell'aspetto formale (in cui ovviamente il NT segue la LXX),

(1) La lezione 'm hlšym altera indebitamente il testo. Si tratta non solo della sostituzione di ' con ', ma anche della soppressione della preposizione l, il che comporta una notevole diversità di scrittura e di sintassi.

(2) La TOB («S'il se moque des moqueurs, il accorde sa faveur aux humbles») mantiene la lettera del TM, ma ci sembra non esprimere la forza della subordinata, la quale può passare come una variante stilistica delle opposizioni precedenti.

Gc 4,6 e 1 Pt 5,5 leggono il nostro passo in chiave pedagogica. Il testo ebraico autorizza una tale lettura? Se la risposta fosse positiva, allora, anche in contrasto con altri testi dell'AT, la distanza tra le due visioni teologiche sarebbe ridotta.

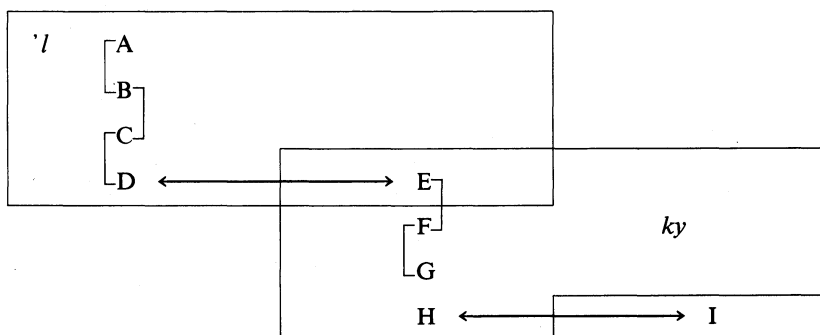
# 1. Proposta di struttura di Prov 3,27-35

Ad una prima lettura del brano, appare evidente la struttura creata dalla serie di imperativi di Prov 3,27-31. Se ad essi si aggiunge la motivazione presente al v. 32 (*ki*), ci troviamo chiaramente di fronte a una tipica Istruzione Sapienziale<sup>(3)</sup>: si tratta di un discorso elaborato, condotto durante vari versetti, in cui l'autore non si limita a dare dei precetti, ma vuole convincere pedagogicamente, mostrando la ragionevolezza di ciò che propone.

Osservando più da vicino la serie degli imperativi, notiamo una differenza di tono tra i vv. 27-30 e il v. 31. Mentre i primi si dirigono contro dei comportamenti concreti, quest'ultimo si preoccupa di un atteggiamento; *'š hms* è la sintesi, a livello attitudinale, dei comportamenti prima elencati. E su questo tono, più pedagogico, più generico, continuano i versetti 32-35. Possiamo perciò vedere nel v. 31 una specie di cerniera che riassume i vv. 27-30 e prepara direttamente la motivazione sviluppata nei vv. 32-35.

Come proposta da verificare poniamo il seguente schema:

Schema 1



<sup>(3)</sup> Si tratta di un preciso genere letterario derivante dalla letteratura egiziana, dove si dirigeva all'educazione di pubblici funzionari. Cfr. W. MCKANE, *Proverbs* (London 1970) 10.

Una prima quartina (A-D) condanna concreti comportamenti amministrativi: essa è caratterizzata sintatticamente dall'imperativo negativo ('l) e dalla composizione unitaria (principale + subordinata) dei versetti. L'elemento E, che pure è caratterizzato da due imperativi negativi, si lega per questo ad A-D, ma per altri motivi inizia una nuova unità (E-H), formando con essa una Istruzione Sapienziale (imperativo + motivazione) omogenea nel tono. Il v. 34 (H) è una prima conclusione dell'argomentazione; una seconda conclusione, più generica nel contenuto, è costituita dal v. 35 (I), legato al precedente da una precisa struttura chiastica. All'interno delle unità parziali, vari legami strutturali uniscono tra di loro i singoli versetti.

## 2. Comportamenti amministrativi aberranti (vv. 27-30)

### a) *Strutturazione*

I vv. 27-30 presentano una chiara unità sintattica e semantica, abilmente strutturata attraverso legami contigui e trasversali.

La costruzione sintattica dei quattro versetti è uguale: imperativo negativo + proposizione secondaria. Anche se queste sono variamente introdotte (v. 27 = *b* + inf.; v. 28 = *w* + *yš*; v. 29 = *w* + part.; v. 30 = '*m* + perf.), si tratta evidentemente di subordinate, il cui senso preciseremo come concessivo. Si potrebbe, senza detrimento del senso, cambiare l'una con l'altra forma di subordinazione<sup>(4)</sup>. Tale costruzione distingue la quartina 27-30 dai vv. 31-35, caratterizzati dalla bipartizione di ogni versetto (ad eccezione del v. 34) in due proposizioni principali.

*Legami contigui.* All'interno della quartina è presente una divisione semantica: i primi due versetti si accentrano tematicamente attorno alla parola *twb* (essa è oggetto di *tmn'*, di *b'lyw* e di '*šwt*, al v. 27; e, verosimilmente, di '*tn* e di *yš* al v. 28); gli altri due attorno alla parola *r'h* (inclusione in 29a e 30b). Nei primi due versetti si esorta a non omettere un bene dovuto, negli altri a non fare un male. Inoltre nei vv. 27-28 l'unità semantica è sottolineata dalla coppia di parole *l' mn' - ntn*, che costituiscono un *parallel pair* (cfr. Sal 21,3; 84,12). Ancora: mentre nei vv. 27-28 il soggetto della pro-

<sup>(4)</sup> Le differenti particelle sono tradotte allo stesso modo dalle moderne versioni. Cfr. *TOB*, *RSV*, *BUBER*, *VACCARI*.



posizione principale (*Tu*) è uguale a quello della secondaria (il *wyš' tk* in 28b non altera il soggetto logico della frase), nei vv. 29-30 abbiamo un movimento dalla seconda alla terza persona: quello che nella proposizione principale era oggetto diventa nella secondaria soggetto, e viceversa.

*Legami trasversali*<sup>(5)</sup>. Il v. 28, del primo gruppo, è unito al 29, del secondo, dalle corrispondenze: *r'yk* (Q *r'k*) – *r'k*; *'tk* – *'tk* (le due volte in posizione finale); *w* – *w* (stessa particella subordinante). Inoltre, dal punto di vista del beneficiario dell'azione, i vv. 27 (primo gruppo) e 30 (secondo gruppo) hanno un beneficiario generico, riferendosi al campo del diritto universale (*b'lyw*, *'dm*); mentre i vv. 28 e 29 si riferiscono al diritto dell'alleanza (*r'k*). Infine possiamo definire azione effettiva quella presentata ai vv. 27 e 30 (*mn' twb*; *rwb*) e azione intenzionale quella dei versetti intermedi: si tratta infatti di un'azione non omessa, ma ritardata (*mhr' tn*); non portata ad effetto, ma preparata (*hrs*).

#### b) Annotazioni semantiche

Una anche rapida analisi semantica del linguaggio usato in questi versetti ci riporta all'originario «Sitz im Leben» dell'Istruzione Sapienziale: ci troviamo di fronte a comportamenti non vagamente affidati alla buona volontà, ma precisati da norme giuridiche tipiche di un linguaggio amministrativo.

Il primo distico (vv. 27-28) si rivolge ad una persona in autorità, di cui si sottolinea il potere giuridico (*hyh l'l yd*, v. 27) e la possibilità concreta (*yš' t*, v. 28) di fare un beneficio. Del destinatario si dice che è un *b'l twb*, una persona che a quel beneficio ha diritto<sup>(6)</sup>, un diritto che viene concretato al v. 28 dall'appartenenza allo stesso gruppo sociale, tra i cui membri vigono legami di alleanza (*r'*)<sup>(7)</sup>. Si vuol indicare che la misericordia, sebbene non sia sottoposta a re-

<sup>(5)</sup> Chiamiamo così degli elementi strutturanti la cui funzione è di unire fra di loro le unità parziali già costituite, rilevando l'unità della strofa.

<sup>(6)</sup> Per questo senso di *b'l* cfr. Dt 15,2; per l'espressione *b'l twb* col senso di «amico, benefattore» cfr. *HALAT*, 137.

<sup>(7)</sup> È possibile che la figura egiziana del «cliente» (cfr. *Ptah-Hotep* 340, in ANET<sup>3</sup> 413, Nota 22) sia all'origine di questa designazione. In ambiente ebraico tale figura diviene il membro dello stesso popolo eletto, partecipe perciò della stessa alleanza divina (cfr. Es 20,16-17; Dt 5,20-21; Lv 19,13).

sponsabilità giudiziaria, non è un atto che si possa omettere senza conseguenze. C'è un diritto alla misericordia, a cui corrisponde il dovere di essere misericordioso: e si precisa che il potere è per questo (cfr. Prov 31,8-9). L'omissione contravviene al diritto: le subordinate di v. 27b (*bhywt l' l ydk l' šwt*) e 28b (*wyš 'tk*) esprimono appunto la contraddizione tra il diritto e il comportamento concreto: di qui il loro senso che definiamo concessivo, non semplicemente temporale. L'infrazione del diritto esige un ristabilimento dell'ordine violato: il bene che tu rifiuti di fare lo farà Jahvé, ma a tuo danno. Al *mn'* (v. 27) e al *ntn mhr* (v. 28) degli uomini corrisponde il *ytn hn* (v. 34) di Dio, che rovescia le sorti.

A precisi rapporti giuridici ci conduce anche il secondo distico (vv. 29-30), semanticamente accentrato sulla parola *r'h*. L'oggetto dell'azione è una persona che *yšb lbth 'tk*<sup>(8)</sup>, un dignitario pari tuo che siede allo stesso tavolo di consiglio, indifeso perché si sa tra amici; oppure uno che *l' gmlk r'h*, che non t'ha mai fatto del male. Si vuole evidenziare il fatto che si tratta, nei due casi, di persone innocenti (*hnm*, v. 30)<sup>(9)</sup>, e che il comportamento sleale e violento contro di loro contravviene alle regole basilari del vivere sociale. L'antitesi creata da tale comportamento, ed espressa parimenti dalle particelle subordinanti (*w*, v. 29; *'m*, v. 30) con valore concessivo, postula anche in questo caso un ristabilimento dell'ordine. Allo *'m* del v. 30 corrisponde al v. 34 un altro *'m*: Dio interviene contro l'ingiusto oppressore per far giustizia all'innocente oppresso.

Già due indizi convergono a sottolineare la posizione chiave che assume, nella struttura delineata, il v. 34.

<sup>(8)</sup> Cfr. 2 Re 6,13; 1 Re 21,8 (l'episodio di Nabot: l'accostamento è significativo. Un altro accostamento significativo è, al v. 30, la vicenda di Saul e Davide: si veda il vocabolario di 1 Sam 24,18; 19,5).

<sup>(9)</sup> Cfr. 1 Sam 19,5, dove *hnm* è in parallelo con *ngy*. Nel nostro caso, il senso di *hnm* è esplicitato al v. 30b: il valore di questo inciso non è quello di autorizzare la violenza come risposta ad una provocazione (ciò sarebbe in contraddizione con Prov 15,8; 17,14; 20,3; 24,9); esso ha il valore di una apposizione, esplicativa, a *hnm* e vuole sottolineare l'ingiustizia, l'immotivazione di questa violenza.

## 3. Funzione e significato del v. 31

Abbiamo visto come il v. 31 sebbene inizi, come i precedenti, con un imperativo negativo, sia collegato da altri indizi ai vv. 32-35. Riepiloghiamo tali indizi:

– il passaggio da comportamenti particolari (vv. 27-30) ad atteggiamenti generali (vv. 31-35);

– il cambiamento di destinatario. Il *Tu* a cui si dirige l'imperativo del v. 31 è diverso dal *Tu* dei vv. 27-30. Prima si esortava direttamente a non fare il male: ora si esorta a non invidiare chi fa il male, ossia a non invidiare il destinatario delle precedenti esortazioni;

– la composizione sintattica del versetto, costruito non più unitariamente, ma da due proposizioni coordinate, come i versetti che seguono;

– il parallelo con Prov 23,17 e 24,1, dove il «non invidiare» appare come inizio di struttura.

L'analisi lessicale e semantica conferma la doppia appartenenza del versetto. Il verbo *qn'* possiede due connotazioni, ambedue presenti nel nostro caso: soggettivamente indica la passione, lo sdegno; oggettivamente denota il desiderio invidioso di un bene che appartiene ad altri. Per il primo senso, l'esortazione '*l tqn'*' è un invito a non accendersi d'ira contro lo '*š hms*', a non rispondere alla violenza di costui con altra violenza<sup>(10)</sup>. Anche se è per opporsi ai violenti, l'uso della violenza è entrare nella loro logica, essere conniventi con loro. Il saggio è un non violento: «Se il tuo nemico ha fame, dagli da mangiare; se ha sete, dagli da bere. Ammucchierai così carboni ardenti sulla sua testa, e a te Jahvé lo ricompenserà» (Prov 25,21-22). Questo ideale è diffuso nei testi della Sapienza Internazionale<sup>(11)</sup>. L'altro senso di *qn'*, l'invidia, ci porta a un tema classico della

<sup>(10)</sup> Cfr. Sal 37,1.7.8; Prov 24,19, dove il verbo *qn'* è associato a *hrh*, accendersi d'ira.

<sup>(11)</sup> Particolarmente vicini a Prov 25,21-22 sono i «Consigli di Sapienza» accadici riportati in *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 426: «Verso il tuo avversario non fare niente di male; chi ti fa del male ricompensalo con un bene; nei riguardi del tuo

letteratura sapienziale: lo scandalo davanti all'apparente riuscita di chi disprezza la legge di Dio (cfr. Sal 37,1; 73,3; Prov 27,17; 24,1-19). Tale accezione è confermata nel nostro caso dal seguito del v. 31: 'l *tbhr bkl drkyw*, non scegliere neppur una delle sue vie. La scelta appare motivata dall'ammirazione invidiosa del suo successo. In conclusione, con l'espressione 'l 'tqn' il saggio vuol distogliere il discepolo dall'imitare gli esempi del violento, sia che lo faccia per ira contro di lui, per desiderio di vendetta, sia che lo faccia per invidia della sua riuscita: in fondo le due cose non sono che due maniere, solo superficialmente diverse, di accettare la sua logica.

*hms* è la «infrazione violenta di un ordine giuridico»<sup>(12)</sup>. Perciò il grido *hms* costituisce un appello per la restaurazione dell'ordine da parte di chi ne ha il dovere, soprattutto da parte di Dio (cfr. Ger 20,8; Ab 1,2). Se originariamente la punizione era considerata come automatica, ed era legata a specifici delitti, l'espressione qui impiegata, 'š *hms*, ci porta ad una visione personalizzata del delitto, il cui ambito viene allargato fino a comprendere ogni comportamento lesivo del diritto altrui<sup>(13)</sup>.

Confluisce perciò nello 'š *hms* del v. 31 anzitutto il comportamento descritto nel v. 30<sup>(14)</sup>, ma vi si riconoscono anche i vari modelli dei vv. 27-29. È a questi comportamenti che fa allusione il v. 31b con l'espressione *kl drkyw*: la denominazione 'š *hms* raccoglie dunque sotto di sé una varietà di manifestazioni della violenza, anche non eclatanti, una molteplicità di comportamenti (*drkym*), esemplificati nei vv. 27-30. Il v. 31, qualificando tali azioni come *hms*, introduce direttamente all'intervento di Dio per ristabilire l'ordine violato (vv. 32-34).

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nemico lascia che giustizia sia fatta... Non permettere che il tuo cuore sia indotto a far del male... Da(gli) cibo da mangiare, vino di datteri da bere; se uno ti chiede l'elemosina, onoralo, vestilo: rallegrati del suo bene; ciò è gradito presso il dio Šemeš: egli lo ricompenserà con felicità». Si noti come in questi Consigli, come in Prov, la motivazione sia religiosa: solo la fiducia in un dio remuneratore (Šemeš è il dio della giustizia) può far preferire essere vittima nella giustizia che vincitore contro la giustizia. È la stessa logica che caratterizza il brano che stiamo esaminando, soprattutto il v. 34: l'essere *šym* con i *šym* è riservato a Dio, non compito dell'uomo.

<sup>(12)</sup> G. VON RAD, *Teologia dell'Antico Testamento* (Brescia 1972) I, 187.

<sup>(13)</sup> JENNI-WESTERMANN, *Dizionario Teologico dell'Antico Testamento* (Torino 1978) I, 507.

<sup>(14)</sup> Per l'associazione *ryb* - *hms* cfr. Sal 55,10; Ab 1,3.

## 4. Strutturazione del brano indotta dal v. 31

## Schema 2

|   |                 |                         |                          |                      |
|---|-----------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| v. 27   | Tu <sub>1</sub> | oppressore<br>ingiusto  | Lui <sub>1</sub>         | vittima<br>innocente |
| v. 28   | Tu <sub>1</sub> | »                       | Lui <sub>1</sub>         | »                    |
| v. 29   | Tu <sub>1</sub> | »                       | Lui <sub>1</sub>         | »                    |
| v. 30   | Tu <sub>1</sub> | »                       | Lui <sub>1</sub>         | »                    |
|   | ↑               |                         | ↑                        |                      |
| <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: flex; justify-content: space-between; align-items: center;"> <span>v. 31 'š ḥms</span> <span>(non menzionato)</span> </div> |                 |                         |                          |                      |
|   |                 | (Lui <sub>2</sub> ) ←   | 'l tqn' ←                | Tu <sub>2</sub>      |
| v. 32   |                 | Lui <sub>2</sub> nlwz   | Lui <sub>1</sub> yšrym   |                      |
| v. 33   |                 | Lui <sub>2</sub> rš'    | Lui <sub>1</sub> šdyqym  |                      |
| v. 34   |                 | Lui <sub>2</sub> lšym   | Lui <sub>1</sub> 'ny/wym |                      |
| v. 35   |                 | Lui <sub>2</sub> ksylym | Lui <sub>1</sub> ḥkmym   |                      |

Il destinatario dei vv. 27-30 (Tu<sub>1</sub>) è un uomo che ha autorità, e da questa posizione di privilegio è portato all'abuso: è un possibile (o reale) violento ('š ḥms). Sue vittime sono dei poveri, degli oppressi (Lui<sub>1</sub>), di cui si mette in evidenza, in ogni caso, il buon diritto, l'innocenza.

Il nuovo destinatario del v. 31 (cardine della cerniera) o dei vv. 31-35 è uno che si vede confrontato con questi esempi: si tratta dell'aspirante-funziionario, del *bny* (Prov 1,8.10.15; 2,1; 3,1.21...): lo indichiamo con Tu<sub>2</sub>. Davanti a lui si aprono due strade: quella, allettante, della violenza, e quella, a prima vista poco redditizia, del diritto. Gli si dice: non soltanto non invidiare il funzionario violento (Tu<sub>2</sub>=Tu<sub>1</sub>), ma, come ci sembra, staccati a tal punto dal violento (Lui<sub>2</sub>) da conformarti piuttosto alle sue vittime (Tu<sub>2</sub>=Lui<sub>1</sub>).

L'istruzione, iniziata con connotazioni di tipo concreto, sociologico (prima quartina), prosegue con una terminologia sapienziale (seconda quartina). Più che di comportamenti, si parla di tipi, che esplicitano da una parte lo 'š ḥms (*nlwz*, *rš'*, *lšym*), dall'altra le sue vittime innocenti (*yšrym*, *šdyqym*, *'nyym*/'*nwym*). Gli aggettivi usati vogliono qualificare sia il comportamento dei modelli sia la scelta

del giovane che a questi modelli si identifica, di qui l'oscillazione tra valenza sociologica e valenza sapienziale dei termini<sup>(15)</sup>. Come risultato finale sono posti i due atteggiamenti fondamentali di fronte alla saggezza: *ksylym* – *ḥkmym* (v. 35).

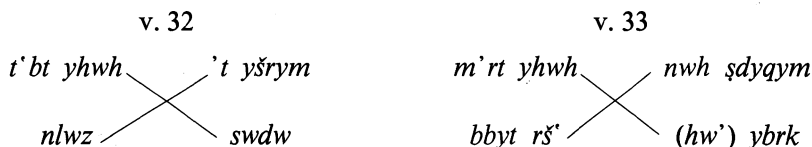
## 5. La motivazione jahvistica (vv. 32-34.35)

### a) *Strutturazione*

La motivazione dell'Istruzione Sapienziale è introdotta dal *ky* del v. 32. Che essa si estenda ai versetti seguenti, è plausibile per una serie di indizi:

– il v. 32 è unito al v. 33 da evidenti parallelismi: i termini si corrispondono, sia semanticamente che nella composizione chiasmica dei versetti:

### Schema 3



– i vv. 32-34 sono caratterizzati dall'avere come soggetto grammaticale e logico Jahvé. Il v. 35a introduce una variante significativa, ma Jahvé è nuovamente soggetto di 35 b;

– i vv. 32-35 sono impostati sulla contrapposizione tra i due emistichi del versetto. Nel primo emistichio si collocano atteggiamenti negativi, nel secondo atteggiamenti positivi. Fa eccezione di nuovo il v. 35 che inverte l'ordine;

– sintatticamente i due emistichi non sono subordinati l'uno all'altro, ma uniti per coordinazione antitetica. Anche qui con un'eccezione: il v. 34, il quale presenta una costruzione unitaria, ma con

<sup>(15)</sup> Una simile oscillazione è riscontrabile in Prov 1,22-32. Il destinatario dell'appello di Sapienza è da una parte il *bny* (a cui fanno pensare termini come *ptym*, e l'appello a conversione), dall'altra i violenti che egli è tentato di imitare, e che 1,10 qualificava come *ḥt'ym* (a cui farebbero pensare termini come *lšym*).

ordine inverso rispetto ai vv. 27-30: prima la subordinata, poi la principale;

– i vv. 34-35 appaiono legati tra di loro da alcuni elementi strutturali: i *parallel pairs* *lšym* – *ksylym*<sup>(16)</sup>, *lšym* – *hkmym*<sup>(17)</sup>, *'nwh* – *kbwd*<sup>(18)</sup>, *hñ* – *kbwd*<sup>(19)</sup>, *hkm* – *hñ*<sup>(20)</sup>; il chiasmo: *lšym* + *hñ* × *kbwd* + *ksylym*; la corrispondenza tra l'ironia divina di 34a e quella di 35b.

Questi indizi confermano la struttura delineata nello Schema 1. Nell'ambito della motivazione, il v. 34 è messo in rilievo come un elemento particolare: è infatti la conclusione della motivazione; e il v. 35 gli si appone come ad eco, chiudendo lapidariamente la motivazione e l'unità.

#### b) Annotazioni semantiche

«In disgrazia a Dio è il perverso, ma con i retti è la sua intimità» (v. 32).

Mentre il Dt usa l'espressione *t'bt yhw* in riferimento a crimini religiosi, in Prov essa è prevalentemente riferita a mancanze sociali<sup>(21)</sup>. Si tratta di un linguaggio aulico, tipico dell'ambiente di corte<sup>(22)</sup>, al quale conduce anche il parallelo *swd*, il «consiglio del re», a cui è ammesso chi gode del suo *ršwn*<sup>(23)</sup>, e da cui è escluso chi è nella sua *t'bh*<sup>(24)</sup>. Nonostante l'introduzione del nome di Jahvé, sia-

<sup>(16)</sup> Cfr. Prov 1,22; 14,6s.

<sup>(17)</sup> Cfr. Prov 13,1; 15,12; 21,11.

<sup>(18)</sup> Cfr. Prov 18,12; 15,33; 22,4.

<sup>(19)</sup> Cfr. Sal 84,12; Prov 11,6.

<sup>(20)</sup> Cfr. Qo 10,12.

<sup>(21)</sup> Le mancanze che cadono sotto la *t'bt yhw* in Prov sono: la falsità nel commercio (11,1; 20,23; 20,10), la falsità in tribunale (17,15), le «labbra false» (12,22), le macchinazioni perverse (15,26), la condotta perversa (15,9). Abbiamo solo un caso di crimine religioso (15,8).

<sup>(22)</sup> Nelle espressioni *t'bh* di Prov «l'accent porte formellement sur le sens "défaveur", "disgrâce", tandis que la coloration émotive – "ordure", "abomination", "dégoût" – reste secondaire, même si, comme il est probable, ce dernier sens est plus près de l'étymologie». J. L'HOUE, «Les interdits "to'ebah" dans le Deutéronome», *RB* 71 (1964) 484s.

<sup>(23)</sup> Per il parallelismo *t'bh* – *ršwn* cfr. Prov 11,1.20; 12,22; 15,8; 16,12.

<sup>(24)</sup> Per l'antitesi *t'bh* – *swd* cfr. Giob 19,19.

mo nello stesso tipo di linguaggio che caratterizzava i vv. 27-30<sup>(25)</sup>.

Oggetto degli opposti atteggiamenti di Dio sono da una parte il *nlwz*, il tortuoso<sup>(26)</sup>, dall'altra, in perfetta antitesi, i retti, gli *yšrym*. Se quello è l'uomo abile nel contorcere la verità, nell'usare sotterfugi, e in essi confida per opprimere il suo prossimo ed ottenere successo, costoro sono persone che confidano solo nella verità e nell'onestà. Essi sono disarmati di fronte al *nlwz*, e perciò di fatto sono spesso le sue vittime<sup>(27)</sup>.

L'intervento di Dio, di cui in questo versetto si pone il fondamento, si dirige puntualmente a ristabilire l'ordine compromesso dai comportamenti dei vv. 29-30. Notiamo le corrispondenze:

#### Schema 4

|                       |   |               |                       |
|-----------------------|---|---------------|-----------------------|
| <i>ḥrš 'l r' r'h</i>  | } | <i>nlwz</i> ← | <i>t'bt yhwh</i>      |
| <i>rwb 'm 'dm ḥnm</i> |   |               |                       |
| <i>yšb lbṭḥ 't</i>    | } | <i>yšr</i> ←  | <i>swd yhwh 't(w)</i> |
| <i>l' gml r'h</i>     |   |               |                       |

L'apparente vittima è in realtà l'amico di Dio: il «furbo» oppressore ha su di sé una condanna inesorabile che porterà i suoi frutti. Non merita invidia.

«Maledizione di Jahvé sulla casa dell'oppressore, ma l'abitazione dei giusti Egli benedice» (v. 33).

Come il v. 32, anche questo versetto è impostato su due perfette antitesi disposte a chiasmo. Rispetto al v. precedente notiamo un processo di generalizzazione (*rš'*, *šdyqym*); anche le conseguenze degli opposti atteggiamenti sono allargate all'ambiente (*byt*, *nwh*).

Per quanto generico, il termine *rš'* ci conduce originariamente alla sfera dei rapporti sociali. Il *rš'* è uno che insidia la vita del suo

<sup>(25)</sup> Vedasi la corrispondenza di *swd 't* (v. 32) con *yšb 't* (v. 29): l'amicizia tradita dal comportamento infido è donata ora da Jahvé.

<sup>(26)</sup> Il termine, applicato prevalentemente alla metafora del cammino (Prov 3,21; 2,15; 14,2), viene usato per esprimere doppiezza nel linguaggio (Prov 4,24; cfr. Is 30,12). Anche qui vale la pena notare la continuità semantica con il v. 31 (*drkyw*) e 29 (*rwb ḥnm*).

<sup>(27)</sup> Cfr. Sal 7,11; 11,2; 37,14.



concittadino (Ger 5,26; Prov 12,6), che toglie la vita agli innocenti (2 Sam 4,11). Sue vittime sono i poveri (Sal 37,14; 82,4; 4,3), i retti (Sal 11,2; 37,13.32; Prov 24,25). È insomma l'offesa del prossimo, sia sotto forma di oppressione del più debole che sotto forma di slealtà o falsità con gli amici, che si vuole indicare (cfr. Sal 55,4; 109,2; 28,3).

L'intervento di Dio è caratterizzato dai due opposti principi di destino: *m'rh* - *brkh*. Un accostamento con Prov 28,27, uno dei rari passi in cui appare il sostantivo *m'rh*, è suggestivo: «Chi distoglie gli occhi dall'indigente, *rb m'rh!*». Come se la maledizione pronunciata dall'indigente fosse assunta da Jahvé, e ripetuta, nel nostro caso (si noti l'imperfetto *ybrk*), sulla discendenza (*byt*) di chi non usa misericordia. Il fatto che la punizione sia affidata, qui come al v. precedente, a Jahvé, le conferisce un carattere personale. Non si tratta, come altrove, d'una sanzione immanente all'ordine cosmico, ma di una sanzione positiva. Tale personalizzazione, a cui forse non è estranea l'idea del re come garante della giustizia, tipica della sapienza egiziana, rende possibile una funzione pedagogica della punizione stessa, particolarmente congeniale al contesto della Istruzione Sapienziale (cfr. Prov 13,24; 19,18; 23,13-14).

Omettendo il v. 34, che sarà oggetto di un'analisi più approfondita, esaminiamo brevemente il v. 35:

«Gloria i saggi erediteranno, ma gli stolti, Egli ne innalza l'ignominia».

I termini usati sono conclusivi: il processo di generalizzazione degli atteggiamenti si conclude con *hkmym* e *ksylym*, la definizione degli uomini di fronte alla saggezza. A costoro si pone innanzi il raggiungimento o il fallimento dell'ideale mondano a cui mira l'Istruzione Sapienziale: il *kbwd*, l'importanza, il peso di un uomo nella società, o il *qlwn*, l'insignificanza, il disprezzo sociale (cfr. Prov 13,18; 6,33; 9,7). La posizione conclusiva del versetto è indicata anche dall'uso del verbo *nhl*, il quale denota generalmente la fine di un processo, il premio o la sanzione annessa a un determinato atteggiamento (cfr. Prov 11,29; 28,10; 14,18; 8,21; 13,22).

A *ynhlw* corrisponde, rompendo la simmetria altrimenti perfetta del parallelismo, il singolare *mrym*. Volendo rispettare il TM, soggetto di questo participio non può essere che Jahvé: *ksylym* è dunque l'oggetto e *qlwn* l'accusativo di relazione. Abbiamo allora una ripresa dell'ironia divina che caratterizza, come vedremo, il v. 34a. Ma men-

tre in 34a l'ironia ha uno sbocco positivo, una finalità pedagogica, qui essa rappresenta lo smacco finale di chi non vuol ascoltare il richiamo della saggezza<sup>(28)</sup>.

## 6. Il v. 34

### a) *Lo 'm iniziale*

La costruzione unitaria del versetto (subordinata + principale) è caratteristica, in Prov, della parte non sentenziale del libro. Mentre infatti non appare, a livello di versetto, in Prov 10,1-22,16, la troviamo 4x in Prov 1-9 e 5x in Prov 22,17-31,31. In particolare, nel nostro caso, è chiara la corrispondenza con lo 'm del v. 30b. Là esso veniva alla fine della quartina 27-30, qui viene a conclusione della motivazione. Ma mentre là esso faceva seguito alla proposizione principale, qui è posto all'inizio del versetto. Tale inversione di posizione sembra sottendere un'altra inversione: nei vv. 27-30 l'azione dell'oppressore era presentata come principale, ora invece l'azione di Dio contro di lui è secondaria per rispetto all'altra, quella di donare grazia all'oppresso-giusto.

Notiamo come il v. 34 rompa in questo la sequenza dei vv. 32-33. Mentre in questi versetti l'azione di Dio contro i malvagi è messa sullo stesso piano di quella opposta a favore dei giusti, e le due azioni sono supposte come autonome in sé, al v. 34 si insinua che queste due azioni non sono in realtà che due momenti, o forse due aspetti, di un'unica azione di Dio, nella quale il primo non è che la condizione paradossale dell'intento espresso dal secondo: «Se si fa beffe dei beffardi, Egli dona grazia agli umili»: l'azione di farsi beffe dei beffardi ha l'intento di conceder grazia a degli umili. Qui, come nei vv. 27-30, la subordinata ritiene il senso condizionale-temporale con sfumatura concessiva; ci sembra inoltre, e lo vogliamo giustificare più avanti, che non si possa eliminare un senso finale come più fondamentale ancora nel nostro passo.

Una simile costruzione troviamo in Sal 78,34: 'm ḥrgm wdršwhw. Si stabilisce una consequenzialità tra la punizione di Jahvé

<sup>(28)</sup> Un simile uso dell'ironia divina, il riso finale di Dio sullo smacco degli orgogliosi renitenti ai richiami della saggezza, troviamo in Prov 1,24-34. Esso fa seguito all'invito a conversione dei vv. 22-23.

(*hrg*) e il ricercarlo degli Israeliti. Si può dire che Jahvé li puniva con la finalità che lo ricercassero. Ancor più significativo è Lam 3,32: *'m hwgh wrhm*. Qui il soggetto delle due azioni, come in Prov 3,34, è lo stesso: Jahvé. Uguale è anche l'oggetto dell'azione divina, come si ricava dal contesto: sono le stesse persone ad essere castigate e ad essere beneficate; e il castigo ha per finalità il beneficio, come dice il v. 33: *ky l' 'nh mlbw*: è a malincuore che Egli opprime. Il senso di Lam 3,32 è perciò: Se (Jahvé) affligge, è per usare misericordia<sup>(29)</sup>.

#### b) Funzione strutturante

Nella serie delle qualificazioni dei malvagi, ai 3 singolari dei vv. 31-33 (*'š hms, nlwz, rs'*), si sostituisce, al v. 34, un plurale, *lšym*, che porta il discorso su un piano più espressamente pedagogico, continuato poi al v. 35 (*hkmym*, anch'esso al plurale). Anche se non è escluso il riferimento ai modelli di comportamento, si vuole caratterizzarli da un punto di vista sapienziale, insinuando più chiaramente l'eventuale identificazione con essi del «discepolo». È costui infatti che, se invidia i modelli di violenza, diviene, rispetto alla saggezza, un *lš* (v. 34), un *ksyl* (v. 35); mentre se si identifica con gli opposti modelli diviene un *'nw* (v. 34-Q), un *hkm* (v. 35).

Riprendendo lo schema 2, notiamo che il v. 34, direttamente collegato al v. 31, viene riferito allo stesso destinatario del «non in-

(29) Cfr. ancora Sal 107,40s: *špk bwz 'l ndybym... wyšgb 'bywn m'wny*. Il v. 40a costituisce la protasi anche del v. 41: *špk* è un participio circostanziale con un significato molto vicino al nostro *'m*. Come in Prov 3,32-34, la serie di proposizioni coordinate in cui si ponevano azioni distinte di Dio per umiliare le ribellioni degli orgogliosi e per soccorrere gli umiliati nella miseria termina con una subordinata, ad esprimere l'unità del fare divino. Si noti come il salmo sembri supporre, nel suo insieme, che oggetto dell'opposta azione di Dio sia lo stesso gruppo di persone (cfr. vv. 10-12; 17-18.20). Nella *Sapienza di Ahiqar*, col. X, 149s, troviamo una costruzione simile. Seguiamo la versione di GINSBERG, da *ANET*, che si rifà all'edizione aramaica di Cowley: «Se (*hn*) tu vuoi essere esaltato, figlio mio, umiliati davanti a Dio, che umilia un uomo esaltato, ed esalta un uomo umile» (*ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 429b). Il condizionale iniziale mette in evidenza una finalità nell'umiliarsi: quella di venire esaltato da Dio. Cfr. ancora VI, 82: «Se io ti batto, figlio mio, tu non morrai; ma se io ti lascio al tuo proprio cuore, tu non vivrai» (*ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 428b). A ciò si può accostare il molto travagliato testo di Mt 20,26-28, colla sua aggiunta «occidentale».

vidiare!» (Tu<sub>2</sub>). D'altra parte se lo 'š *hms* del v. 31 è, come abbiamo visto, la qualifica morale dei comportamenti descritti nei vv. 27-30, il v. 34 riprenderà pure il discorso in essi iniziato. Rileviamo le corrispondenze:

| vv. 27-30            |                       | v. 34            |
|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| 'l <i>tmn'</i> - 'tn | (vv. 27-28) . . . . . | (hw') <i>ytn</i> |
| ṭwb                  | (v. 27) . . . . .     | hn               |
| b'lyw (LXX ἐνδεῖν)   | (v. 27) . . . . .     | 'nyym (K)        |
| hnm                  | (v. 30) . . . . .     | hn               |
| 'm                   | (v. 30) . . . . .     | 'm               |

Dio si sostituisce a colui che nega un bene dovuto donando Lui stesso grazia ai poveri. Il discorso, lasciato in sospeso allora (si noti come non sia specificato l'oggetto di 'šwt, 'tn, yš, ai vv. 27-28), si completa con lo *ytn hn* del v. 34<sup>(30)</sup>. Lo 'm del v. 30 viene ripreso, in posizione chiasmica rispetto al precedente, ad esprimere l'inversione operata da Jahvé sia nel ristabilire il giusto ordine che nel contrapporre alla gratuità dell'ingiustizia (*hnm*), la gratuità del suo favore (*hn*).

Nell'ambito della motivazione introdotta dal *ky* del v. 32, il v. 34 esprime l'azione di Jahvé, preparata dai due versetti che precedono: il v. 32 instaurava da una parte una rottura del legame di alleanza (*t'bh*) e parallelamente un rapporto privilegiato (*swd*); il v. 33 stabiliva una causalità negativa (*m'rh*) o positiva (*ybrk*); il v. 34 descrive l'intervento di Dio in atto (*ylyš, ytn*), ponendosi perciò a conclusione del processo di ristabilimento dell'ordine. Il v. 35a, cambiando il soggetto, interrompe questo processo.

### c) Annotazioni semantiche

La radice *lyš* appartiene al campo semantico del parlare<sup>(31)</sup>. Come sostantivo, *lš* è un termine caratteristico della letteratura sapienziale, e soprattutto di Prov, in cui appare 14x, su 16x in tutto

<sup>(30)</sup> La coppia *ntn hn* - *l' mn' ṭwb* conferma l'inclusione strutturale di Prov 3,27 con 3,34: cfr. Sal 84,12: *hn wkbwd ytn yhw' l' ymn' ṭwb lhlkym btmym*.

<sup>(31)</sup> Cfr. H. N. RICHARDSON, «Some notes on 'lyš' and its derivatives», VT 5 (1955) 163-179.

l'AT. Un primo senso pone il *lš* vicino al *ksyl* (Prov 1,22; 14,6s; 13,1; 15,12; 21,11; 19,25): si tratta di uno che parla a vanvera, sotto i fumi del vino (Prov 20,1; Os 7,5; Is 28,22). Però al senso di sciocchezza si aggiunge quello di «orgoglio, insolenza, disprezzo della sapienza, della disciplina». Il *lš* è un ribelle contumace, uno che si fa beffe della legge (Prov 19,28; Sal 1,1; Prov 9,7-8; 14,9)<sup>(32)</sup>. Sul piano dei rapporti interpersonali il *lš* è compagno del violento, del risoso, della testa calda (cfr. Prov 21,24; 22,10; 29,8; Is 28,12): egli è fondamentalmente un oppressore, le cui vittime sono i poveri (Is 29,18-20), i giusti (Giob 16,20; Sal 119,51). Rileviamo perciò, accanto al valore sapienziale del termine, che è predominante, anche il valore sociologico, nel quale vediamo la continuazione dei precedenti *nlwz* e *rš'*. In quanto ribelle insolente, per il *lš* in generale non si prevede correzione (cfr. Prov 9,7-12; 13,14; 14,6-9; 15,12; 19,25-29; 21,11): però nella prima parte di Prov l'atteggiamento è più possibilista, e in Prov 1,22 i *lšym* sono espressamente chiamati a conversione, insieme ai *ptym* e ai *ksylym* a cui vengono associati<sup>(33)</sup>.

Ai *lšym* il nostro testo oppone gli *'nyym* (K) - *'nwym* (Q). Contro la tendenza a scorgere tra *'ny* e *'nw* un'evoluzione in senso spirituale, il *THAT*<sup>(34)</sup> fa giudiziosamente notare che *'nw* va considerato come una forma secondaria di *'ny*, e che il significato fondamentale, sempre presente, è quello sociologico, mentre il senso etico-religioso è derivato e da verificare caso per caso. Nel nostro contesto il termine conserva tutta la sua pregnanza, significata anche dal Qerê-Ketîb che i Massoreti hanno tramandato. In continuità con *yšrym* e *šdyqym*, in cui, accanto alla primaria accezione morale, abbiamo riconosciuto la connotazione sociologica di «oppressi», anche qui, al concetto fondamentalmente sociologico di *'nyym*, in cui si riconoscono le vittime delle ingiustizie elencate in Prov. 3,27-30, vediamo affiancarsi la connotazione morale di «umili, miti» a cui ci può portare il Q *'nwym* e il parallelo con le circostanti qualificazioni (*yšrym*, *šdyqym*, *hkmym*).

<sup>(32)</sup> In Prov 19,28 lo Hifil di *lš* è costruito con il complemento oggetto. Ci troviamo in Prov 3,34 di fronte a un Qal? È possibile, sebbene uno Hifil con senso avverbiale sia anche pienamente plausibile. Cfr. P. JOÛON, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique* (Rome 1923) 54d.

<sup>(33)</sup> Vedasi MCKANE, *Proverbs*, 368.

<sup>(34)</sup> II, 343.

In quest'ultimo senso la *'nwh* è imparentata con la *yr't yhw* (Prov 15,33), che è esattamente l'antitesi dell'atteggiamento dei *lšym*. Perciò *'nw* nell'accezione spirituale è, secondo Prov, l'uomo che si sottomette a Dio, accettandone la legge: è il saggio (3,35); e la *'nwh* è il cammino obbligato per raggiungere la gloria (3,35; cfr. 18,12 e 22,4). Dal punto di vista dei rapporti sociali, lo *'nw* è il non-violento, il mite, l'opposto dello *'š hms*<sup>(35)</sup>.

In perfetto contrappasso alla dimenticanza e ai soprusi a cui son fatti segno da parte degli uomini, Dio dona agli *'ny/wym* la *hn*. Anche in questo caso si tratta, nell'ottica originaria di Prov, di un bene mondano, imparentato con la *kbwd* del v. 35. La *hn* è in Prov una qualità della persona beneficiata, corrispondente a grazia, amabilità, simpatia (cfr. Prov 1,9; 4,9; 3,22; 11,16; 22,11), e conseguentemente la considerazione, l'accettazione sociale di cui una persona gode per questa qualità (Prov 3,4; 13,15)<sup>(36)</sup>.

#### d) *hw' ylyš*: l'intervento pedagogico di Dio

Una costruzione simile per caratterizzare l'intervento di Dio ricorre in Prov 23,11 (*hw' yryb*, cfr. 22,22s); 24,12 (*hw' ybyn*, *hw' yd'*). Sempre si tratta di Dio che prende le parti dei poveri, capovolgendo una situazione di oppressione. Nel nostro contesto, tale inversione vuole motivare l'esortazione del v. 31: non invidiare.

L'opera di Dio è caratterizzata con il verbo *lyš*, la stessa radice che caratterizzava il comportamento dei beffardi. Si tratta di un'ardita antropomorfizzazione: Dio risponde all'insolenza degli uomini usando la loro stessa arma, «Egli è beffardo verso i beffardi». Ci troviamo di fronte all'ironia di Dio: come in altri casi, tale procedimento divino ha una funzione pedagogica<sup>(37)</sup>. E lo *'m* iniziale del versetto esplicita questa funzione: se Dio punisce, non è per il gusto di punire, ma è per usar grazia.

Possiamo delineare tre piani dell'azione divina:

<sup>(35)</sup> Si veda la frequenza con cui la LXX rende *'ny* e *'nw* con *παύς*. Per *'ny* cfr. Giob 24,4; Sof 3,12; Zac 9,9; Is 26,6; per *'nw* cfr. Sal 24(25),9; 33(34),2; 36(37),11; 75(76),9...; Sir 3, 18(19); 10,14.

<sup>(36)</sup> Fuori di Prov l'espressione *ntn hn* ricorre in Gen 39,21; Es 3,21; 11,3; 12,36; Sal 84,12: si tratta in genere di un dono di Dio che attira la benevolenza degli uomini. Tipico è il caso di Giuseppe (Gen 39,21) e degli Ebrei in Egitto (Es 3,21).

<sup>(37)</sup> Cfr. R. VÖLTZEL, *Das Lachen des Herrn* (Hamburg 1961) 47-62.

(1) Piano sociologico: Dio rovescia la situazione di oppressore-oppresso delineata in Prov 3,27-30. Il valore sociologico dei termini usati, la posizione strutturale del v. 34, come pure il confronto con Prov 23,11 e 24,12 autorizzano questa interpretazione. All'affermazione, corrente nella Bibbia, di Dio che prende le parti degli oppressi (cfr. il Magnificat del Vangelo), lo 'm iniziale del v. 34 aggiunge una sfumatura singolare: come se, per un misterioso equilibrio, l'esaltazione degli oppressi dovesse essere pagata con l'umiliazione degli oppressori. È una teodicea primitiva, presente in Sir 10,14-15: «I troni degli orgogliosi ha rovesciato il Signore, e vi ha fatto sedere gli 'nwym (LXX: *πρᾶξις*) al loro posto (*thtm*); le radici dei pagani ha estirpato il Signore, ed ha piantato gli umili al loro posto». Il *tht* del v. 14 trasforma ed esplicita la funzione subordinante dello 'm di Prov 3,34. Se una tale lettura è legittima, essa ci sembra riduttiva rispetto alla pregnanza e alla densità del versetto.

(2) Piano pedagogico indiretto: Dall'opposta sanzione divina data al comportamento dei *lšym* e degli 'ny/wym, il bny deve trarre lezione. Abbiamo sottolineato la valenza pedagogica dei termini usati, che ci riporta al destinatario del v. 31a. L'ironia, abbiamo visto, è un procedimento tipicamente pedagogico, un caso tipico della condiscendenza divina. In questo senso il beneficiario di tale pedagogia è il discepolo, come direbbe Prov 19,25: «Batti il *lš*, e il *pty* diverrà perspicace» (cfr. ancora 21,11).

(3) Piano pedagogico diretto: L'identificazione del destinatario dell'istruzione con i suoi modelli di comportamento dona ragione a questa terza lettura. Trasponendo sul piano pedagogico le conclusioni tratte in (1), veniamo ad un senso audace: «Se Dio si fa beffe dei beffeggiatori, è che intende donar grazia a degli umili». L'azione divina è interiorizzata: è lo stesso gruppo, complesso come lo è l'umanità, ad essere il destinatario dei due opposti atteggiamenti divini, i quali in realtà sono solo due aspetti diversi di un unico atto di misericordia.

In questo senso legge Prov 3,34 la 1 Pt, quando, alla citazione del versetto, fa seguire l'esortazione: *ταπεινώθητε οὖν ὑπὸ τὴν κριταὶὰν χειρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα ὑμᾶς ὑψώσῃ ἐν καιρῷ* (1 Pt 5,6). Questa lettura è imposta anche da certi passi dell'AT, come il libro di Giona, od Ez 33,11. Ma è essa giustificabile nel nostro caso? Ci sembra di sì.

Il respiro non nazionalistico, ma universalmente umano della Sapienza Internazionale, e il tono pedagogico dell'Istruzione ci con-

ducono ad una visione del mondo non a compartimenti stagni, dove il passaggio da una parte all'altra, la conversione e la perversione appunto, sono possibili. Il destinatario dell'Istruzione è uno davanti a cui sono aperte ancora tutte le strade; se è un *lš*, lo è ancora in potenza, ancora suscettibile di cambiare atteggiamento (cfr. Prov 1,22-23).

Il parallelo con Prov 24,17-20 svela la finalità dell'azione divina contro i violenti. «Quando il tuo nemico cade, non gioire; quando incespica, non esulti il tuo cuore: perché Jahvé non veda ciò, e sia male ai suoi occhi, e ritiri da lui la sua collera» (cfr. il già citato Prov 25,21-22 e Dt 3,25). Il rispondere da nemico al nemico, collera a collera, è il gioco di Dio, lo stesso gioco pedagogico descritto dallo *hw' ylyš* di 3,34. L'ironia divina ha lo scopo di fare dell'oppressore ciò che lui voleva rendere l'oppresso. I due ruoli sono interscambiabili: lo *'ny/w* può divenire un oppressore, ed attirarsi la collera di Dio, mentre l'oppressore può trasformarsi in *'ny/w*, e con ciò la collera di Dio verso di lui non ha più senso, ha già raggiunto il suo fine. Se la vendetta è negata all'uomo e permessa a Dio, è perché la vendetta divina è diversa da quella dell'uomo. E ciò che fa la differenza tra le due è che la giustizia di Dio è misericordia (Os 11,9).

\* \* \*

Riassumiamo brevemente le conclusioni a cui siamo arrivati:

1) Il TM di Prov 3,34, conservandoci questo singolare *'m*, ci ha obbligati ad inserire il versetto nel suo contesto sintattico e semantico. Ci pare stabilita la struttura unitaria di Prov 3,27-35, come istruzione sapienziale sulla non violenza.

2) In tale struttura, posizione centrale occupa il v. 31: «Non invidiare l'uomo violento, e non scegliere nessuna delle sue vie». Oggi le vie della violenza sono più numerose e più sottili, e si avvalgono di ragioni religiose, a volte. La nostra istruzione ci fa riflettere come la non violenza sia un valore non solamente evangelico, ma già semplicemente umano, ricevuto da Israele come parola di Dio. La vendetta non è l'unica né la definitiva parola che l'AT ha detto di fronte all'offesa.

3) Il v. 34 fa parte della motivazione per un agire non violento; coerentemente tale motivazione non può essere che teologica: sola-



mente se c'è un Dio che ristabilisce la giustizia, vale la pena non farsela da sé.

4) All'intervento divino, lo *'m* iniziale conferisce una finalità di grazia. La logica della non violenza trova il suo sbocco naturale nella teologia della salvezza, come abbiamo rilevato a proposito di Prov 24,17-20. In tale senso il TM giustifica la lettura pedagogica che ne fanno Gc 4,6s e 1 Pt 5,5s. La visione di Dio che ci presenta il TM di Prov 3,34 è quella non di un impersonale giustiziere, ma di un padre: che è anche la visione che di Dio ci ha dato Gesù Cristo.

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#### SUMMARY

MT differs from LXX in Prov 3,34 in having a clause subordinate to the initial *'m*. The article seeks to show that this particular form of the text has its own value in exegesis. First it shows the structural unity of MT Prov 3,27-35 as a wisdom lesson about non-violence created by a series of prohibitions (vv. 27-31) based on Yahwistic motivations (3,32-35). Then it studies the special pedagogical force of v. 34 in explaining the divine action against the *lšym* as intended to convert them to *'nyym* so as to grant them forgiveness.

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# ANIMADVERSIONES

## Philological Observations on Five Biblical Texts

### 2 Sam 8,8

When describing King David's victories, 2 Sam 8,8 reports that he took huge quantities of bronze from two cities in the region of Lebanon belonging to the Aramaean king Hadadezer: *mibbetaḥ ûmibbērōtay*, "from Betah and from Berothai". On the other hand, the doublet in 1 Chron 18,8 reads *miṭ-ṭibḥat ûmikkûn* "from Tibhath and from Cun". It is on the variants *bērōtay* and *kûn* that Ebla can cast some light.

TM.75.G.2231, the gazetteer published in 1978 by G. Pettinato<sup>(1)</sup>, lists the following sequence of places in obv. VII 6-8: *tar-ba-ru-tim*<sup>K1</sup>/*i-su-[]*<sup>K1</sup>/*kun*<sup>K1</sup>/. When analyzed into *tār*, "emporium"<sup>(2)</sup>, and *barûtîm*, "food-stuffs", the plural of *bārût*, "food", a *hapax legomenon* in Ps 69,22<sup>(3)</sup>, the first name means "Emporium of Foodstuffs". The next toponym is unfortunately damaged, nor do the parallel texts from Abu Salabikh<sup>(4)</sup> help toward its restoration. The third name *kun*<sup>K1</sup>, however, is sound<sup>(5)</sup> and clearly resembles the biblical toponym *kûn*, a name of single occurrence and unusual formation.

Hence Eblaite *kun* may be normalized *kûn*, with a long vowel, from the root *kwn*, "be firm, stable". Since the cities *tār-barûtîm* and *kûn* were presumably near to each other, as their listing in the gazetteer would suggest, one can now better explain why 2 Sam 8,8 reads *bērōtay*<sup>(6)</sup> while 1 Chron

(1) "L'Atlante geografico del Vicino Oriente Antico attestato ad Ebla e ad Abū Salābikh (I)", *Or* 47 (1978) 50-73, esp. 57.

(2) From the root *twr*, "to seek out, explore"; compare *sāḥar*, "to travel about", and *sōḥēr*, "salesman", *sāḥar*, "traffic, commerce". In 1 Kings 10,15 and 2 Chron 9,14, *'anšê hattārîm* "merchants", signifies literally "men of the emporia". The parallelism with *rōk'lim*, "traders", in the former and with *sō-ḥarîm*, "salesmen", in the latter passage facilitates its translation. In the construct chain *'anšê hattārîm*, the latter, usually taken as the qal participle, is preferably understood as the plural of the noun *tār*, "emporium", unrecognized by Hebrew lexica, but now amply attested in Eblaite toponyms. Failure to understand *tārîm* correctly may explain why the construct chain *'anšê hattārîm* has so often been emended; cf. *BHK*<sup>3</sup>.

(3) The masculine plural form *barûtîm* is morphologically interesting and may be compared with the masculine plural of the feminine abstract nouns *z'nût*, "whoring", and *'almānût*, "widowhood", in Biblical Hebrew. Thus one finds *z'nûtayik* in Jer 3,2, *z'nûtêkem* in Num 14,33, and in Isa 54,4, *'alm'nûtayik*; cf. GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 87k.

(4) See *Or* 47 (1978) 68 under no. 145.

(5) PETTINATO, *op. cit.*, 57, reads the name as Sumerian *kun*<sup>K1</sup>, but the logogram KUN frequently has the syllabic value *kun*.

(6) The Hebrew toponym *bērōtay*, which reminds some commentators of the name Beirut, in the light of Heb. *bārût* and Eblaite *barûtîm*, may be reprinted

18,8 has *kûn*; both readings are correct. David took bronze from Berothai as well as from Cun, to say nothing about Betah/Tibhath, a variant that apparently involves metathesis.

*Scriptio Defectiva in Psalm 55,3*

The perennial puzzler *'ārid bēšīhī* in Ps 55,3 can be coaxed into sense and syntax on the assumption that *'ārid(?)* is a massoretic misconstruction resulting from the defective spelling *'r yd*. To restore sense and balance to the couplet one may propose:

*haqšibāh lī wa'ānēnī*  
*'ārē yādī* (MT *'ārid*) *bēšīhī*  
 Heed me and answer me,  
 grasp my hand in my anxiety.

The first two consonants *'r* are here vocalized as the qal imperative of the verb *'ārāh*, “to pluck, gather”, witnessed in Ps 80,13 and Cant 5,1. My 1974 proposal<sup>(8)</sup> to identify it in Ps 22,17 as well appears now to be strengthened because one of the objects of the verb is the same as that in Ps 55,3: *kī 'āryū* (MT *kā'ārī*) *yāday wēraglāy 'āsappēr kol-'qsmōtay*, “Because they picked clean my hands and my feet, I can number all my bones”. The precise nuance “picked clean” is imposed on the verb *'āryū* by the subject that happens to be hungry dogs. In our passage, however, imperative *'ārē*, is rendered “grasp!” and is semantically closer to the meaning found in Cant 5,1, *'ārītī mōrī 'im-bēšāmī*, “I have plucked my myrrh with my spice”; plucking and grasping are both manual actions.

With this scansion into a 3+3 line numbering 8 and 7 syllables, the final phrase in vs. 3 *wē'āhimān* now attaches to vs. 4, as most modern versions have seen:

*wē'āhimāh miqqōl 'ōyēb*  
*mippenē 'aqti* (MT *'āqat*) *rāšā'*

*bērōtay* and derived from the root *bārāh*, “to eat”. The ending of *\*bērōtay*, “foodstuffs”, would classify it with collective nouns ending in *-ay*, such as *gōbay*, “locusts”, Ugar. *arby*, “grasshoppers”. For further discussion of this collective ending, consult W. F. ALBRIGHT in *Festschrift Alfred Bertholet* (Tübingen 1950) 3.

<sup>(7)</sup> *'ārid* is usually derived from *rwd*, a root of uncertain meaning. In Hos 12,1, unexplained MT *'ōd rād* is preferably read as one word *'drd* (vocalized either *'edrād* or *'edrōd*), “the flock of Hadd”, with the elision of the *hē* of *hd* just as in the Ugaritic personal name *nqmd* (= *nqm-hd*) and biblical *nimrōd*, “the Panther of Hod”, as I have proposed in *CivCatt* 129 II (1978) 337. Hence read *wihūdāh 'edrād 'am* (MT *'im*) *'ēl / wē'im-qdōšim ne'emān*, “For Judah is the flock of Hadd, the people of El / and to the holy gods is faithful”. The image of the flock continues in vs. 2 which begins *'eprayim rō'eh rūah*, “Ephraim grazes upon the wind”. Cf. Isa 40,11, *krō'eh 'edrō yir'eh*, “Like a shepherd he will pasture his flock”, and the juxtaposition of the roots in the construct chain in Isa 32,14, *mir'eh 'ādārim*, “a pasture for flocks”.

<sup>(8)</sup> “The Verb *'ARAH* ‘To Pick Clean’, in PS. XXII 17”, *VT* 24 (1974) 370-371.

I am troubled by the voice of the foe,  
constrained by the presence of the wicked<sup>(9)</sup>.

*A Needless Emendation in Proverbs 14,35*

On the strength of LXX *'aphaireitai*, "he removes", both *BHK*<sup>3</sup> and *BHS* recommend emending MT *tihyeh* to *tahārōg* in Prov 14,35, but the present text yields good sense and syntax when one appreciates with Gesenius-Buhl<sup>(10)</sup> that in addition to "his fury" *'ebrātō* might also by metonymy signify "the object of his fury". The text reads and translates:

*ršōn-melek l'e'ebed maškil*

*w'e'brātō tihyeh mēbīš*

The king's favor is toward the intelligent servant,  
but the object of his fury will be the worthless one.

The definition of *'ebrātō* as "the object of his fury" has not been taken up by more recent Hebrew lexica and versions, which differ in their understanding of the second colon, but good analogues can be cited to support this translation.

Thus there is *q'lālāh*, "curse", but also "the object of the curse" (Deut 21,23; 2 Kgs 22,19; Jer 24,9) and, perhaps more relevant *herpāh*, "reproach", but also very frequently "the object of reproach" (Ezek 5,15; Pss 22,7; 31,12; 79,4; 89,42; 109,25 etc.)<sup>(11)</sup>.

Morphologically, *tihyeh* can parse either as the third feminine singular with *'ebrātō* the subject, or as the third masculine singular<sup>(12)</sup>, in which case *'ebrātō tihyeh mēbīš* would translate "but the worthless one will be the object of his fury".

Nor do these exhaust the possibilities. The application of the principle of the double-duty preposition<sup>(13)</sup> would produce the viable version, "The king's favor is toward the intelligent servant, but his fury will be with the worthless one". This appears to be the construction put upon this verse by,

<sup>(9)</sup> For the grammatical analysis of this couplet, see M. DAHOOD, *CBQ* 41 (1979) 604-605.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (Leipzig, 17th ed. 1921) 561a. Cf. also W. FRANKENBERG, *Die Sprüche, Prediger und Hoheslied* (HAT; Göttingen 1898) 90, who renders the second colon, "Aber sein Zorn ist ein nichtsnutziger", with the comment "*ršwn* und *'brh* bezeichnen wie oft konkret den Gegenstand der Neigung resp. des Zornes".

<sup>(11)</sup> See F. BROWN-S. R. DRIVER-C. A. BRIGGS, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Boston/New York 1907) 358a; F. ZORELL, *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti* (Roma 1955) 271a, who notes under *herpāh* that it is employed metonymically to signify "obiectum opprobrii" with verbs of being, becoming, making. But under *'ebrāh* he strangely fails to recognize its use as metonymy (569b).

<sup>(12)</sup> Consult my article "Third Masculine Singular with Preformative *t-* in Northwest Semitic", *Or* 48 (1979) 97-106. Another text in Proverbs probably exhibiting this form is 17,13.

<sup>(13)</sup> For examples of double-duty prepositions in the Psalter, see my *Psalms III* (AB 17a; Garden City, NY 1970) 435-437.

among others, A. Vaccari, "Il suo favore dà il re al ministro intelligente; ma all'inetto va il suo sdegno" (14).

In brief, the emendation of MT *tihyeh* to *tahārōg* favored by BHK<sup>3</sup> and BHS loses further claim on our attention.

### *Canticles 5,13; 6,2 and Two Eblaite Names*

In Cant 5,13 the poet compares the lover's cheeks to a bed of spices: *lḥāyāw*<sup>(15)</sup> *ka'ārūgat habbōšem*. In 6,2 the maiden declares *dōdī yārad lḡannō la'ārūgōt habbōšem*, "My beloved has gone down to his garden, to the beds of spices". The discrepancy between singular *'ārūgat*, which the ancient versions read as plural, and plural *'ārūgōt* need not detain us here; what is striking is the fact that the construct chain *'ārūgat habbōšem* serves to explain two personal names and a toponym in the Ebla tablets dating to circa 2,500 B.C..

Thus MEE 1, 5049 mentions *bar-za-ma-ù ugula a-ru<sub>x</sub>-ga-tu<sup>KI</sup>* and MEE 1,667 cites a certain *bar-za-ma-lik ugula a-ru<sub>x</sub>-ga-tu<sup>KI</sup>*<sup>(16)</sup>. If the first personal name is analyzed into the components *barsama* and *hū'*, the scribe is seen to have employed a shared syllable when writing *bar-za-ma-lik*<sup>(17)</sup> probably to be normalized *barsama-malik*. In both cases the *qal* verb *barsama* is followed by a divine component, *hū'*, "He"<sup>(18)</sup> in the first and *malik*, "King", in the second personal name.

Both *bar-za-ma-ù* and *bar-za-ma-lik* are prefects (*ugula*) of a city or place called *a-ru<sub>x</sub>-ga-tu<sup>KI</sup>*. The construct chains in Canticles strongly suggest that *a-ru<sub>x</sub>-ga-tu<sup>KI</sup>* equals Heb. *'ārūgat/arūgōt*, "bed/beds". The seven phonemes of the hitherto exclusively Hebrew word coincide with those of the

(14) *La Sacra Bibbia* (Firenze 1961). Similarly *La Bible de Jérusalem: La Sainte Bible traduite en français sous la direction de l'École Biblique de Jérusalem* (Paris 1974, nouvelle édition), "La faveur du roi va au serviteur intelligent et sa colère à celui qui fait honte".

(15) It might be noted here that MT *leḥi*, "cheek", is probably non-existent in Ps 3,8 where consonantal *lhy* is preferably pointed *lḥay*, "O Living One", and attached to the second instead of the first colon. Accordingly read, *kī-hikkītā 'attā* (MT *'et*) *kol-'ōy<sup>h</sup>bay / lḥay sinnē ršā'im šibbartā*, "O that you yourself would smite all my foes / smash the teeth of the wicked, O Living One!" Parsed as vocative, *lḥay* makes a good parallel to vocative *yhw<sup>h</sup>* in vs. 8a and in 9b; cf. Ps 42,3, *l'ēl ḥay*, "O Living God", where the parsing of *l'* as the vocative particle associates vs. 3a with vs. 2b where *'ēlōhim* is in the vocative case. This means that Ps 42,3b now begins the musing that continues into the following verses.

(16) MEE = *Materiali epigrafici di Ebla*. MEE 1 equals G. PETTINATO, *Catalogo dei testi cuneiformi di Tell Mardikh-Ebla* (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli. Seminario di Studi Asiatici, 1979).

(17) The use of shared consonants in Canaanite orthography has been the object of study in recent years; e.g., W. G. E. WATSON, "Shared Consonants in Northwest Semitic", *Bib* 50 (1969) 525-533. My list of shared syllables in Eblaite orthography is not yet *spruchreif*.

(18) Consult my article "The Divine Designation *hū'* in Eblaite and the Old Testament", appearing in *CBQ* 44 (1982).

Eblaite name and make the identification difficult to impugn<sup>(19)</sup>. As a place name "Bed" or "Terrace" cannot be faulted, especially in an agricultural society like Ebla's. But what is the meaning of *barsāma*? Heb. *bōšem*, "spice, balsam, balsam-tree", furnishes a very plausible answer; *barsāma* is a quadriliteral root related to *bśm* whose basic sense is given by the Hebrew lexica as "to have a sweet odor, to be sweet-scented"<sup>(20)</sup>. Hence *barsāma-hū* interprets as "He is sweet-scented" and *barsāma-malik* as "Malik is sweet-scented". That a wonderful aroma attended the presence of the gods is a motif widely documented in ancient sources<sup>(21)</sup>. In Ugaritic, for instance, the scent of the goddess Anath is described as *kpr.šb'.bnt.rh.gdm wanhbm*, "Henna of seven maidens, the scent of coriander and perfumes" (UT, 'nt II 2-3)<sup>(22)</sup>. In Hebrew the PN *yibśām*, "He is sweet-scented" (1 Chron 7.2) gives expression to this motif, though the absence of the divine component in this apocopated name prevents our knowing the deity about whom this verb is predicated. According to Gen 25,13, one of Ishmael's sons was called *mibśām*, also from the root *bśm*.

The quadriliteral verb *barsāma*, "to be sweet-scented", has a later counterpart in Greek *balsamon*, from which our form "balsam" derives<sup>(23)</sup>. Compare also Syriac *bassim*, "sweet", whose doubled second radical may go back to an original *brśm*<sup>(24)</sup>.

† Mitchell DAHOOD

<sup>(19)</sup> Equally striking is the coinciding of the eight phonemes of Eblaite *a-ga-ga-bi-iš*<sup>kl</sup> (MEE 1, 6523, 6527) with those of heretofore exclusively Heb. *'akkā biš*, "spider". Or compare the toponym *da-'ā-wa<sup>kl</sup>/ta'awā* (TM.76.G.189) with Heb. *ta'āwāh*, "desire", and the place name *qibrôt-hatta'āwāh*, "Graves of Desire", in Num 11,34-35 etc. Text TM.75.G.189 can be found in G. Pettinato, *The Archives of Ebla: An Empire Inscribed in Clay*, with an Afterword by M. DAHOOD, S. J. (Garden City, NY 1981) 164.

<sup>(20)</sup> Cf. BROWN-DRIVER-BRIGGS, *Hebrew Lexicon*, 141b; W. BAUMGARTNER, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, 156a. On quadriliteral roots with -r- as the second radical, see GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 85w, and M. H. POPE, *Song of Songs* (AB 7c; Garden City, NY 1978) 574-576, on the equivalence of Ugar. *'rgz* and Heb. *'ēgôz*, "nut, walnut".

<sup>(21)</sup> See T. H. GASTER, *Thespis: Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East* (New York 1950) 211, 389, with ample bibliography.

<sup>(22)</sup> One may note here that the root of Ugar. *kpr*, Heb. *kōper*, "henna", a *dislegomenon* occurring in Cant 1,14 and 4,13, is found in the Ebla bilingual MEE 1, 1116 obv. III 6-7 which translates Sumerian URUDU, "copper", as *kā-pā-lum/kapar-um*. Since both copper and henna are reddish brown, they can be derived from the same root; see my remarks *apud* G. PETTINATO, *Archives*, 311-312.

<sup>(23)</sup> H. G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, H. S. JONES, *A Greek-English Lexicon*<sup>8</sup> (Oxford 1940) 305a, think that *balsamon* is probably of Semitic origin; the Greek form closely resembles the Ebla toponym *bar-sa-ma-nu<sup>kl</sup>*, probably "Balsam-tree", in TM.75.G.2231 obv. II 3, which would eventually become *barsāmōn* with the shift of final *ā* to *ō*.

<sup>(24)</sup> Compare the name "Damascus" written both *dammešeq* and *darmešeq* in the Hebrew Bible.

## De Lystres à Philippes (Ac 16) avec le *codex Bezae*

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Le chapitre 16 des Actes a sa place, en l'année 50, dans le second voyage missionnaire de Paul accompagné de Silas. Deux nouveaux fidèles y font leur entrée, le tout jeune Timothée, choisi par Paul pour remplacer Jean-Marc, et Luc lui-même dans le premier passage où il se nomme sous un « nous » désignant Paul et ses compagnons (versets 10 à 17).

Luc signe ainsi son propre témoignage, avec une discrétion qui n'empêche pas de constater que, s'il apparaît pour la première fois à Troas aux côtés de Paul, il est probablement resté auprès de lui, peut-être en qualité de médecin, pendant les « quelques jours »<sup>(1)</sup> du séjour de l'apôtre à Philippes en Macédoine.

On ne saurait affirmer a priori que la présence de Luc explique les précisions apportées au texte court, généralement adopté, par le texte occidental, dont le meilleur représentant, on le sait, est le *codex Bezae* (sigle D). Le fait est, cependant, que le chapitre 16 est particulièrement riche en apports nouveaux de ce manuscrit. L'objet des présentes pages est d'en relever les principaux<sup>(2)</sup> selon l'ordre du texte, dans les versets consacrés d'abord à Lystres (1-5), puis au voyage en Phrygie, Galatie et Mysie, terminé à Troas (6-10), enfin au séjour à Philippes, plus longuement développé, malgré le peu de sa durée (11-40).

### 1. A Lystres (16,1-5)

Le verset 3 mérite l'attention parce que le *codex Bezae* y introduit un tour dont Luc n'a pas le monopole, mais qu'il manie plus habilement que les autres auteurs du Nouveau Testament. Il s'agit de la prolepse, cet hellénisme qui consiste à faire complément de la principale ce qui est en réalité le sujet de la proposition complétive qui suit. Le tour, très attique, appartient à la langue courante<sup>(3)</sup> et permet d'attirer l'attention sur le mot mis de la sorte en vedette. Ainsi, là où le texte court dit, à propos de Timothée entrant alors en scène, que « tout le monde savait que son père était un Grec », le *codex Bezae* met ce père en prolepse, et le tour peut être à peu près rendu par « ... savait de son père qu'il était un Grec ». Si la première phrase est très correcte en grec, la seconde, plus idiomatique, est d'une meilleure langue.

(1) ἡμέρας τινάς, 16,12.

(2) Il y en a d'autres, moins importants, versets 1; 6; 8; tous les vv. de 11 à 19; 21 à 26; 29; 30; 32 à 34.

(3) Il existe en français courant; par ex. : « Regarde le chat, comme il court vite ».

Le verset suivant apporte, avec le *codex Bezae*, une transformation plus remarquable<sup>(4)</sup>, l'addition de treize mots. Le texte court écrit : «En traversant les villes, ils livraient à leur garde les décisions arrêtées par les apôtres et les presbytres de Jérusalem» (il s'agit du décret apostolique issu du concile qui vient de se tenir là).

On ne tirera pas argument, contre le texte court, de l'emploi assez libre du pronom «leur», αὐτοῖς («à leur garde»), qui renvoie, comme en 17,15 D, aux habitants des villes en question; on insistera plutôt sur l'importance des additions du texte long, dont les mots nouveaux, pour la clarté, sont mis en italique : «*En traversant*<sup>(5)</sup> les villes, ils *proclamaient tout franc le Seigneur Jésus-Christ, tout en livrant également les ordres* des apôtres et des presbytres de Jérusalem».

L'addition de κηρύσσειν, «proclamer» (le Seigneur Jésus-Christ), apparaît remarquable parce que ce verbe, tout en étant fréquent dans le Nouveau Testament, s'il est employé déjà huit fois dans le texte normal des Actes, l'est encore à cinq reprises dans le *codex Bezae*, et uniquement chez Luc, une fois dans son Évangile et quatre fois dans les Actes. Non seulement la proportion est forte, mais la distinction, dans ces nouveaux exemples, est toujours parfaite — comme chez les bons auteurs — entre les valeurs de l'aoriste et du présent. On a l'impression que la présence du verbe, au verset final des Actes, où l'on voit Paul, captif à Rome, «en train de proclamer» le royaume de Dieu, a déjà incité l'auteur du *codex Bezae* à rajouter le verbe à l'autre bout des Actes, au second verset du prologue<sup>(6)</sup> comme s'il voulait annoncer plus vigoureusement, en entrant en matières, une proclamation qui, ordonnée par Jésus aux apôtres à la veille de son Ascension, fut de leur vivant l'objet constant de leurs actes et devait l'être pour leurs successeurs jusqu'à la fin des temps<sup>(7)</sup>.

Il est également remarquable que le *codex Bezae* remplace les «décisions», τὰ δόγματα, arrêtées à Jérusalem, selon le texte court, par les «ordres», ἐντολάς dans le texte long, comme si son auteur voulait rappeler le verbe «ordonner», ἐντειλάμενος, employé par Luc pour l'ordre, donné par Jésus précisément dans le prologue, de «proclamer sans fin l'Évangile».

On notera en outre que, si le verbe κηρύσσειν se trouve rajouté quatre fois dans le texte occidental des Actes, l'expression «tout franc», μετὰ πάσης

<sup>(4)</sup> Il importe de supprimer trois mots du *codex Bezae*, qui s'y sont introduits, après ἐκήρυσσον, par la simple erreur, évidente, d'un copiste : καὶ παρεδίδοσαν αὐτοῖς, trois mots impossibles à construire dans la phrase, et faisant double emploi avec le participe παραδιδόντες qui suit; cf. E. J. EPP, *The theological tendency of codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* (Cambridge 1966) 113.

<sup>(5)</sup> Le ms. D emploie le verbe διέρχεσθαι au lieu de διαπορεύεσθαι; si les deux verbes sont synonymes, au moins ne sont-ils pas le même.

<sup>(6)</sup> Cf. *Revue Thomiste* 79 (1980) 628-634.

<sup>(7)</sup> En 17,15 l'infinitif aoriste intemporel est normal après le verbe κωλύειν : Paul est empêché de proclamer la parole. Outre la présente addition de 16,4, le présent et l'imparfait du verbe indiquent la durée jusqu'à l'infini de la proclamation prescrite dans les additions de ce verbe particulières au *codex Bezae*, les auteurs de la proclamation étant Jésus (Lc 5,14) et Paul (Ac 19,14) comme ici Paul et ses compagnons de mission.



παρησίας, qui l'accompagne, est caractéristique du vocabulaire de Luc dans les Actes<sup>(8)</sup>.

On notera enfin que la présente adjonction du *codex Bezae* se signale par un autre tour, très grec, particulier à Luc, l'emploi de l'adverbe ἅμα devant un participe et retombant sur lui, pour signifier la concomitance de deux actions<sup>(9)</sup>.

Donc, sur le verset 4 du chapitre 16, il est permis de penser que le texte occidental, ce texte dit «long» du *codex Bezae*, avec les détails utiles qu'il apporte, avec son vocabulaire et ses tours lucaniens, avec l'addition de ces missionnaires qui «proclamaient sans fin le Seigneur Jésus-Christ», une addition de la même veine que celle du prologue, fait une excellente transition pour permettre à Luc d'annoncer la nouvelle étape, que le verset 5 va résumer, atteinte par l'Église en marche dès sa naissance; ces progrès, qui le mettent en joie, Luc en parseme son livre, à mesure que, d'église en église, se multiplient les conversions, mais ils sont soulignés plus fortement par leur annonce dans le texte long.

Ce texte long du verset 4, il est difficile d'affirmer qu'il soit authentiquement l'œuvre de Luc. Mais rien ne s'oppose à ce qu'il le soit.

## 2. La vision de Paul à Troas (16,9-10)

Paul et ses compagnons, ayant traversé Phrygie, Galatie et Mysie, atteignent Troas. La nuit, un Macédonien apparaît à l'apôtre des Gentils et l'invite à porter en Macédoine la parole de Dieu.

Les deux versets consacrés à cette vision offrent ici encore deux textes distincts. Le verset 9 du texte court est ainsi conçu : «Au cours de la nuit, une vision apparut à Paul : un certain Macédonien se trouvait debout, et le priait, en disant : Passe en Macédoine, viens à notre secours». Le *codex Bezae* donne un texte différent, où les deux phrases sont réunies en une seule : «*Au cours d'une vision pendant la nuit, apparut à Paul comme une sorte de Macédonien, debout en face de lui. . .*» et la fin du verset est la même.

La différence n'est pas considérable; mais on notera que l'auteur du second texte, outre la construction modifiée, ajoute l'adverbe ὡσεὶ devant le «Macédonien». Il ne s'agit plus d'un certain Macédonien, comme si son nom pouvait être donné mais qu'il est inutile de donner. Il s'agit d'«une espèce de Macédonien», c'est-à-dire d'un homme qui, sans doute à en juger par son vêtement, a l'extérieur d'un Macédonien. Cette incertitude convient mieux à une vision, et l'adverbe qui la signifie, ὡσεὶ, se trouve être très lucanien : sur

(8) M. WILCOX, «Luke and the Bezan Text of Acts» in J. KREMER, *Les Actes des Apôtres* (Gembloux 1979) 447-455, 449, n. 13, note fort bien que l'expression μετὰ πάσης παρησίας, qui se trouve dans les Actes en 4,29.31; 28, 31, et est considérée par bon nombre de spécialistes comme particulière à Luc dans les Actes, apparaît deux fois de plus dans le *codex Bezae* des Actes, 6,10 et ici même.

(9) Deux autres exemples de ce tour, inconnu des autres auteurs du NT, en 24,26 et 27,40. Dans le reste du NT on ne le trouve que dans un emploi différent, en Mc 12, 38 D; 12,42 D; Col 4,3; et ajouté par le ms. B et le pap. 46 en Col 1,12.

vingt-deux exemples du Nouveau Testament, on en compte dix-sept en tout chez Luc. Il en va de même pour les trois mots de l'expression ajoutée, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, dont Renié, quoique tenant du texte court, écrit dans son édition des Actes qu'elle «pourrait être originale», et il cite Lc 2,31; Ac 3,13; 25,16.

La différence entre les deux versions du verset 10 tire davantage à conséquence parce qu'avec lui nous entrons dans le premier des trois «passages-nous» des *Actes*<sup>(10)</sup>. Luc était donc là lorsque Paul raconta sans tarder, à Troas, la vision qu'il venait d'avoir dans la nuit. Selon le texte court, en effet, «aussitôt qu'il eut vu cette vision, nous cherchâmes à nous en aller en Macédoine, avec cette leçon (συμβιβάζοντες) que nous étions appelés par Dieu à leur annoncer l'Évangile».

Le *codex Bezae* offre un texte de la même longueur, où les suppressions compensent les additions : «*Dès lors réveillé, il nous raconta la vision, et nous comprîmes que nous étions appelés par le Seigneur à annoncer l'Évangile aux gens de la Macédoine.*»

Selon Metzger<sup>(11)</sup> l'addition est banale et sa raison d'être évidente : «Le réviseur voulait être sûr que le lecteur comprît comment les compagnons de Paul pouvaient savoir ce qu'il avait vu dans sa vision : c'est que Paul le leur avait dit!» On ne suivra pas cette opinion, non à cause de l'emploi du mot «réviseur» mais pour la raison que, quel que soit le texte retenu, de toute façon Luc était mieux placé que personne pour raconter la vision puisqu'il faisait partie de l'entourage de Paul, étant alors présent à Troas : de ses oreilles il avait entendu l'apôtre, et cela est déjà nettement *impliqué* dans le texte court; mettre les points sur les i n'ajoutait rien à la clarté de la phrase, mais garantissait, devant l'objection d'incrédulés, la vérité de la vision.

Il reste que le texte long est plus significatif parce qu'il remplace «aussitôt nous cherchâmes (à nous en aller en Macédoine)» par «nous comprîmes...», la chose comprise étant l'appel du Seigneur. Le remplacement d'un verbe par un autre entraîne la suppression des trois mots ἐξελθεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, «à nous en aller en Macédoine», une suppression qui a l'avantage de permettre le remplacement du αὐτοῦς final — un peu dur (comme le αὐτοῦς du verset 4) parce que ce pronom «eux» désigne «les Macédoniens», ces habitants qu'il faut tirer du nom de leur pays, la Macédoine, (εἰς) Μακεδονίαν — par les trois mots τοὺς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, «les gens de la Macédoine», plus légers et plus naturels. En outre, la suppression du participe συμβιβάζοντες, «avec cette leçon que», a un autre avantage, celui de faire disparaître un verbe obscur et convenant mal au contexte.

Quant au vocabulaire du second texte, il comporte les verbes διεγείρειν, διηγεῖσθαι, qui ne sont pas étrangers à Luc. Seul le verbe νοέω ne se ren-

<sup>(10)</sup> On sait que Luc emploie le «nous» dans trois passages de plus en plus longs des Actes, ici en 16,10-17, puis 20,5-21,18, enfin 27,1-28,16. Un premier «nous» isolé se trouve dans le *codex Bezae* en 11,28 D. Nous avons ici un «nous», ἡμῖν, de plus.

<sup>(11)</sup> *A Textual Commentary on the Greek N.T.* (U.B.S., London — New York 1975) 444.

contre pas chez lui; mais on le trouve cinq fois chez Paul, qu'il a lu et entendu, et ce verbe ne peut ici étonner en précisant que Luc et ses compagnons *comprirent* le sens de la vision que Paul venait de leur raconter.

On estime donc que la version du *codex Bezae*, aux versets 9 et 10, est, avec ses changements, additions et suppressions, l'œuvre d'un auteur habile à présenter plus exactement, plus complètement, plus clairement, la réalité des choses. Rien n'empêche que cet auteur soit Luc, puisqu'il dit «nous» et que sa présence est confirmée, s'il en était besoin, par la précision de la chronologie: il raconte la journée où fut décidé le départ pour la Macédoine, étape mémorable de la mission; cette journée fut celle qui suivit la nuit de la vision, puisque le *codex Bezae* ajoute encore, au début du verset qui vient, le verset 11, un τῇ ἐπαύριον, «le lendemain», un lendemain qui fut le jour de la montée à bord, à Troas, avec Luc, d'un navire à destination d'un port de la Macédoine. Paul fut prompt à quitter la côte asiatique pour obéir aux ordres du Seigneur, et Luc fut le témoin de cet empressement.

### 3. A Philippes, après la sortie de prison (16,35-40)

Le reste du chapitre 16 est consacré aux faits survenus à Philippes, et Luc les raconte avec le pittoresque des choses vues: la conversion de Lydie, négociante en tissus de pourpre, l'histoire de la petite servante pythonisse dont les maîtres, que Paul prive d'une rentrée d'argent, vont dénoncer aux préteurs ces «Juifs», c'est à dire Paul et Silas, et probablement aussi leurs compagnons parmi lesquels il faut compter Luc, bien qu'il ne se désigne plus sous quelque «nous», et aussi Timothée, bien qu'il ne soit plus nommé. Ces Juifs sont dénoncés comme dangereux pour la paix publique, une accusation de nature à alarmer des fonctionnaires responsables de l'ordre devant le pouvoir romain. Il apparaît que seuls Silas et Paul sont jetés en prison.

La nuit, pendant qu'ils célèbrent Dieu par leurs chants, un tremblement de terre providentiel relâche leurs liens et leur ouvre les portes de la prison. Le geôlier, croyant les prisonniers enfuis, frappé dans sa conscience professionnelle, est sur le point de se sacrifier, quand Paul arrête son bras, le rassure et lui sauve la vie. Le geôlier accueille Paul et Silas dans sa propre demeure, à sa propre table; il est rapidement baptisé, avec tous les siens.

Les six derniers versets du chapitre relatent les événements consécutifs. Leurs deux versions s'écartent encore l'une de l'autre selon les textes court et long. Examinons d'abord les versets 35 à 37.

Déjà les deux textes du verset 35 présentent des différences notables. Selon le texte court, «le jour venu, les préteurs envoyèrent dire par les licteurs: Relâche ces hommes-là». Les treize mots grecs de ce texte sont, moyennant quelques déplacements, conservés dans le second. Mais celui-ci en ajoute dix-huit autres. On y lit en effet: «Le jour venu, les préteurs *se réunirent pour faire bloc sur l'agora; ils s'effrayèrent à l'évocation du séisme survenu* et envoyèrent dire par les licteurs: Relâche ces hommes *que tu as reçus hier*».

Il est difficile de nier l'intérêt de ce qui est ajouté. Il n'y a pas à s'étonner de l'emploi unique, dans le texte long, du verbe ἀναμνησκω, sous prétexte qu'il n'est pas employé ailleurs par Luc; il est légitimé par sa présence

chez Paul et sa fréquence dans le grec classique, certainement pratiqué par Luc. Inversement, le verbe συνέρχασθαι, «se réunir», lui est bien particulier. Si le Nouveau Testament en offre treize exemples en dehors de lui (dont sept dans 1 Co), on en compte deux dans le troisième Évangile et dix-sept dans les Actes; à quoi il faut en ajouter huit dans le *codex Bezae* des Actes. Le verbe peut surprendre, car il implique un *rassemblement* relativement important, et les préteurs, ces magistrats les plus élevés de la colonie, chargés de rendre la justice, ne sont que deux, *duoviri*. Mais le mot s'explique parfaitement si l'on admet l'hypothèse convaincante de M. Jean Dauvillier, prolongeant dans une correspondance privée les pages 695-696 de ses *Temps Apostoliques* (Sirey 1970). Les préteurs se savent coupables d'avoir fait flageller et emprisonner Paul et Silas sans la moindre forme de procès. Même s'ils les ont supposés «pérégins», ils ont violé la *lex iulia de vi publica*. Frappés d'une crainte superstitieuse par le funeste présage du tremblement de terre, ils auraient voulu rentrer dans la légalité en consultant le Conseil, cette assemblée où ils ont la possibilité de faire entrer les magistrats subalternes et les notables de leur choix. Si cette consultation est obligatoire (cfr. Ac 25,12), les préteurs ne sont nullement liés par l'avis de leurs conseillers. Ils l'auraient ainsi *rassemblé* dans le local ordinaire de leurs réunions, où se rend la justice, *sur l'agora*. Ils ne recherchent pas là la moindre publicité, au contraire, comme on le voit par l'indignation de Paul, au verset 37, quand il s'écrie «ils nous expulsent en cachette!» Mais ils veulent la caution et l'appui des membres du Conseil pour justifier leur palinodie. De là sans doute les «nombreux amis» dont ils se font entourer, par prudence, quand ils se rendent à la prison pour inviter Paul et Silas, libérés, à en sortir, puis à quitter la ville.

Un trait non moins important du vocabulaire lucanien est l'emploi de la formule ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. Cette expression riche de sens marque moins l'identité d'un lieu qu'une intention entre apôtres, ou entre chrétiens ordinaires de l'Église primitive, de «former un bloc» pour se défendre contre la menace des incroyants et entraîner, dans une communauté cimentée par la foi, des conversions nouvelles<sup>(12)</sup>.

Quant à l'addition des trois mots οὓς ἐχθὲς παρέλαβες<sup>(13)</sup> «(ces hommes) que tu as reçus hier», elle est inutile *pour le lecteur* à la fin d'une phrase qui a commencé par ἡμέρας γενομένης, «le jour venu»; mais elle s'impose *pour le geôlier*: il est indispensable de dissiper dans son esprit toute confusion possible de Paul et Silas avec les autres prisonniers récemment incarcérés; il risque en effet de ne pas croire ses oreilles en entendant les licteurs lui intimer l'ordre extraordinaire de libérer déjà et sans délai, moins d'un jour après leur arrestation, ses deux captifs de la veille, sans qu'il y ait eu ni enquête ni procès; les licteurs doivent devancer la surprise du geôlier en lui disant que c'est bien ces deux-là qu'il faut libérer.

<sup>(12)</sup> L'expression est étudiée dans la *Revue Thomiste* 79 (1980) 75-87; on la trouve cinq fois dans le texte court des Actes.

<sup>(13)</sup> Le verbe παραλαμβάνω, ici ajouté par le ms. D, est fréquent dans le NT, mais il est particulier à D deux fois chez Matthieu et quatre fois chez Luc, dont trois fois dans les Actes.

L'addition faite par le *codex Bezae* a, sur le texte court, l'avantage de nous placer *dans la situation* du gardien de la prison. Il en allait de même au chapitre 1, verset 5, au moment où Jésus annonce aux apôtres, avant son Ascension, l'imminence de la «Pentecôte». Pour le lecteur ce mot de «Pentecôte» est clair : il s'agit de la fête de la Pentecôte. Mais pour les apôtres, qui entendent pour la première fois ce mot, dont c'est la première apparition dans le Nouveau Testament, il ne peut s'agir, quand il vient d'être question de «jours», que du «cinquantième» jour (après Pâques). Là comme ici l'auteur du texte long, soucieux de la chronologie, emploie des mots qui font vivre le personnage dans la réalité d'un jour précis.

S'agissant de mots, on notera enfin la dextérité remarquable de cet auteur à tirer parti du texte court préexistant : il sépare le verbe ἀπέστειλαν, «ils envoyèrent», de son sujet «les stratèges», à savoir les préteurs, inverse l'ordre des deux mots et insère, avec un parfait naturel, les quinze mots rajoutés dans l'intervalle.

En résumé, le texte long du verset 35 apporte des précisions et des nuances remarquables. A lui seul le texte court n'explique pas la volte-face des deux préteurs élargissant les captifs sans raison apparente le lendemain même de leur arrestation. Serait-ce clémence de leur part? Serait-ce un pas vers une conversion? Nullement. Le *codex Bezae* nous apprend que c'est la terreur inspirée par le séisme. Pendant la nuit, ils n'ont pas osé sortir de chez eux. Le jour venu, ils éprouvent le besoin de se sentir proches, et l'auteur applique spirituellement à deux païens endurcis un tour suggestif ailleurs réservé à la cohésion d'une communauté convertie, qu'il aurait le droit d'employer aujourd'hui pour montrer avec joie que deux êtres aussi différents qu'une grande dame et un humble gardien de prison sont venus s'y intégrer. Effrayés rétrospectivement au souvenir d'un tremblement de terre dont ils ont au moins entendu le fracas, sans oser aller sur place, et qu'au jour ils commentent, les préteurs se réunissent sur une place publique au milieu de la foule, soulagés de pouvoir «se serrer les coudes». L'auteur du *codex Bezae* s'intéresse à la psychologie des magistrats romains et, par des touches délicates, nous la rend plus sensible. Il n'est certainement pas le premier venu.

Les changements apportés par le texte long aux versets 36 et 37 sont moins remarquables. Il suffit de les mentionner brièvement avant d'aborder les trois versets de la fin.

On voit maintenant le brave geôlier qui entre (εἰσελθών)<sup>(14)</sup> pour annoncer à Paul et à Silas l'incompréhensible décision des préteurs. Où entre-t-il? Évidemment dans le logement de fonction qu'il habite, à l'étage, avec sa famille, et dans la pièce où il les a reçus et traités. Le verbe reçoit sa réponse exacte dans l'impératif «sortez!» qui suit, et qui est déjà dans le texte court. Mais les ex-prisonniers vont refuser de partir<sup>(15)</sup>.

<sup>(14)</sup> εἰσελθών : emploi du participe exprimant une idée principale, selon l'usage de la bonne langue.

<sup>(15)</sup> Le premier impératif, impliqué dans ἐξελθόντες, est suivi d'un second, πορεύεσθε, «allez». Le *codex Bezae* supprime les deux mots qui suivent, ἐν εἰρήνῃ. La chute peut être accidentelle; mais elle peut être voulue par l'auteur,

Au verset 37 Paul explique les raisons du refus : c'est aux préteurs de venir eux-mêmes libérer deux Romains qu'ils ont fait rouer de coups ἀκατακρίτους, «sans un jugement». Cet adjectif ne se rencontre pas ailleurs dans la langue grecque, sauf une fois encore dans les Actes 22,25. Et c'est peut-être un désir d'enlever tout doute sur la signification de ce néologisme qui fait ajouter dans le texte long, bien en vedette dans le refus de Paul, un autre adjectif plus courant, ἀναιτίους, «innocents»<sup>(16)</sup>. L'indignation de Paul contre des magistrats sans caractère est ainsi rendue plus vive et plus éclatante.

Plus profondes sont les modifications subies par les trois versets de la fin (38-40); il y a lieu de les regarder de plus près, notamment parce qu'ils jettent des lueurs nouvelles sur les sentiments des préteurs.

Le cas du verset 38 peut se régler vite. Texte court : «Les licteurs rapportèrent aux préteurs ces paroles. La frayeur les saisit quand ils apprirent qu'ils étaient romains<sup>(17)</sup>». A la fin de la première de ces deux phrases, le *codex Bezae* ajoute «(ces paroles) qui avaient été dites à l'intention des préteurs». L'insistance sur le mot «préteurs», comme s'il y avait un désir de mettre l'accent sur l'anomalie de leur conduite, en justifie la répétition, soulignée de surcroît par l'emploi de la préposition πρὸς : les paroles de Paul refusant de partir ont été dites non pas *aux* préteurs, évidemment, puisqu'ils ne sont pas présents dans l'appartement du geôlier, mais *à leur intention*. Le texte long explique mieux le refus indigné adressé par Paul *aux* licteurs, mais *pour* les préteurs<sup>(18)</sup>.

Quant aux versets 39 et 40, leur matière est plus substantielle dès que l'on va au-delà du texte court. Dans celui-ci la fin de l'épisode est expédiée en quelques mots : «Ils (les préteurs) vinrent les prier, les emmenèrent et leur demandaient de partir de la ville. — 40 — Sortis de la prison, ils entrèrent chez Lydie, virent les frères, les exhortèrent et partirent».

En développant ces deux versets dont la sécheresse étonne quand il s'agit de clore tout un épisode où Luc, sans s'écarter de la vérité historique, a donné libre cours à ses dons de conteur, le *codex Bezae* respecte mieux le ton et la vie du chapitre : «*Arrivés dans la prison avec beaucoup d'amis*, ils (les préteurs) les prièrent de sortir, en ces termes : *Nous avons été dans l'ignorance, quant à vous*<sup>(19)</sup>, *que vous êtes des justes*. Et, les ayant emmenés, ils les priè-

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estimant que le geôlier était un baptisé de trop fraîche date pour prononcer une formule consacrée.

<sup>(16)</sup> ἀναιτίος est un hapax lucanien; on le rencontre dans le NT deux fois chez Mt 12,5,7, mais il est courant dans le grec classique.

<sup>(17)</sup> C'est donc une seconde frayeur subite par rapport à celle de l'addition du *codex Bezae* au v. 35, lorsque, le jour venu, les deux préteurs se réunirent pour se donner du courage.

<sup>(18)</sup> Par ce procédé de l'interpellation indirecte, l'auteur met l'éclairage sur la situation, déjà exploitée dans Homère et la tragédie grecque, d'un personnage de second plan, l'intermédiaire chargé d'un message.

<sup>(19)</sup> Il n'est nullement impossible que τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς soit le complément direct du verbe qui précède; en ce cas l'auteur userait du tour très classique de la prolepse, mais avec beaucoup de liberté, et les mots signifieraient «vos affaires» (à savoir que...). Il est plus probable que l'article est un accusatif adverbial, purement explétif devant καθ' ὑμᾶς, comme souvent devant des adverbes; cf. Lc 11,3; Rm 1,15 etc.

rent, en disant : Sortez de cette ville, pour que jamais plus ils ne nous fassent des attroupements en hurlant contre vous. — 40 — Sortis de<sup>(20)</sup> la prison, ils allèrent trouver Lydie, virent les frères et leur racontèrent tout ce que le Seigneur avait fait pour eux, en les exhortant; puis ils partirent».

On voit tout de suite les enrichissements apportés par le texte long. Les préteurs ne sont décidément pas des foudres de guerre : maintenant ils arrivent à la prison non sans avoir pris la précaution de se faire entourer de beaucoup d'amis. Devenus presque obséquieux envers Paul et Silas, ils les prient eux-mêmes de «sortir» et nous entendons leurs paroles polies. Ils s'excusent sur leur ignorance quant à ceux qu'ils ont emprisonnés sans un jugement. Ils savent à présent que les deux prisonniers libérés sont «des justes», et la remarque est plaisante parce que personne ne leur a prouvé ni affirmé que Paul et Silas étaient des justes. Les licteurs leur ont seulement appris qu'ils avaient affaire à des romains<sup>(21)</sup> et les romains ne sont pas nécessairement des justes. Ils les «prirent» maintenant, une seconde fois, de sortir et donnent leurs raisons dans un second petit discours direct, toujours expressif, qui contient un aveu encore amusant, l'emploi spirituel d'un «ils» et d'un «nous» du style parlé, deux pronoms pittoresques dans leur discrétion<sup>(22)</sup> : Sortez pour qu'ils ne nous fassent plus d'attroupements, des attroupements fâcheux surtout quand les gens hurlent. Enfin, au verset 40, Paul et Silas, avant de quitter Lydie et les frères, font un dernier discours dont le *codex Bezae* donne un résumé en style indirect : ils racontent tout ce que le Seigneur a fait pour eux, c'est-à-dire le séisme, la libération de leur cellule, la conversion du geôlier et des siens, le revirement et la platitude des préteurs<sup>(23)</sup>.

Le *codex Bezae* ne donne pas seulement vie et mouvement à des épisodes mieux développés. Il mérite d'être étudié pour sa langue, notamment par l'emploi de verbes particuliers à Luc. Si le verbe ἀγνοεῖν est plus paulinien que lucanien, sans être toutefois inconnu de Luc, en revanche on trouve ici, comme on l'avait remarqué plus haut à propos du verbe κηρύσσειν, «proclamer», mais de façon plus marquante, d'autres verbes intéressants : ἐπικράζειν, qui n'appartient qu'au texte occidental (autre exemple en 28,19); διηγέσθαι figure trois fois dans le texte court, mais trois fois encore dans le *codex Bezae* : on l'a vu ci-dessus au verset 10 de notre chapitre; on le verra une fois de plus en 21,19. Quant au verbe συστρέφειν, il est à souligner par

<sup>(20)</sup> Comme souvent, le texte long modifie la préposition, ici ἐκ au lieu de ἀπό, mais le sens ne change pas. Il en va de même pour les préverbes de ἐξελεθεῖν et ἀπελθεῖν au v. 39.

<sup>(21)</sup> Même effroi chez un autre fonctionnaire de Rome en 23,29, quand il apprend que Paul est citoyen romain.

<sup>(22)</sup> Le «ils» désigne familièrement la partie adverse : cf. Lc 17,23 (et ma note dans l'*Évangile de Luc*, Paris 1976); 18,33; 21,12. — Le «nous» est un «dativus commodi», ici «incommodi», fréquent chez Luc et en bon grec pour souligner le rapport, agréable ou non, entre une action et son auteur : cf. Lc 2,9; 24,4; Ac 4,1 etc. On rencontre souvent ce datif à côté de ὡφθη : «... apparut pour lui» = «il vit apparaître»; cf. Lc 1,11 etc.

<sup>(23)</sup> Il y a là des souvenirs du texte court de 9,27; 12,17, et même de l'expression de 14,27; 15,4 et 12.

sa fréquence dans le texte occidental. S'il apparaît une fois dans le texte court, en 28,3, à propos de choses inertes, dans le sens de «ramasser» (des fagots), il est employé à propos d'apôtres «ramassés» autour de Jésus (10,41 D; cf. Mt 17,22), ailleurs de vagabonds que l'on «ramasse» (17,5 D), ici dans le sens de «s'assembler» ou «s'attrouper». Et c'est Luc lui-même qui le dit de soi à propos du rassemblement dont il nous apprend, par un «nous» isolé, qu'il fit partie à Antioche (11,28 D); dans ce dernier passage au moins, il est visible que c'est Luc qui a fait l'addition du *codex Bezae*<sup>(24)</sup>.

Dira-t-on donc, en définitive, que nous avons affaire à des «gloses explicatives passées des marges dans le texte», comme on tend en général à le croire? Il serait sans doute dangereux d'affirmer trop vite que la rédaction nouvelle est de la main de Luc. Mais qui donc aurait pu se glisser à sa place pour employer, dans le verset 10 du texte long, à propos de l'effèt produit sur les frères présents par la vision de Paul, l'expression «nous comprimés», et pour ajouter un «nous» supplémentaire? En dehors de ce verset, on peut croire que la présence de Luc a dépassé le cadre des quelques phrases où, dans le texte court, il dit «nous», parce qu'on retrouve apparemment sa personne et son art dans les détails nouveaux qu'apporte le *codex Bezae*, après la rencontre de Timothée à Lystres, après la vision de Paul à Troas, avec le séjour à Philippes marqué par la conversion de la marchande de pourpre, par l'exorcisme de la petite servante que ses maîtres exploitent, enfin par les émeutes, l'incarcération de Paul et de Silas, leur délivrance miraculeuse, la conversion du géolier, le revirement des préteurs. On a l'impression de choses vues et vécues dès la lecture du texte court.

Avec le texte long, l'impression s'accroît. On se croit en face d'un historien qui réveille avec amusement de ses propres souvenirs, qui soulève par instants un coin du voile et laisse apercevoir de nouveaux sourires, en aiguillant sans méchanceté une critique aux dépens de deux magistrats romains craintifs devant leurs administrés et inquiets des comptes à rendre au pouvoir central<sup>(25)</sup>.

Quant à l'ensemble du chapitre, sa seconde version illustre bien les particularités d'un texte qui se superpose au court, en lui empruntant par accident quelques mots intrus par une faute de copiste (voir la note 4), en procédant aussi à quelques élagages qui donnent à penser que l'auteur ne disposait pas d'une place suffisante dans les marges ou entre les lignes de l'écrit préexistant pour y porter ses additions, un texte, enfin et surtout, dans lequel sont introduits, outre des détails supplémentaires, des mots nouveaux appartenant presque toujours au vocabulaire lucanien et qui, si d'aventure ils ne portent pas sa marque, proviennent de Paul ou du grec le plus courant.

Pour Wilcox<sup>(26)</sup> on serait en présence de deux versions distinctes d'une œuvre originale de Luc qui aurait subi deux développements différents; il en

<sup>(24)</sup> Sur le vocabulaire lucanien du passage, cf. WILCOX, «Luke and the Bezan Text», 451-452.

<sup>(25)</sup> Sur la psychologie, plus fouillée dans le *codex Bezae*, de magistrats romains, cf. mon article de la *Revue Thomiste* 80 (1981) 426-434.

<sup>(26)</sup> WILCOX, «Luke and the Bezan Text», 455.



conclut que le *codex Bezae* mérite plus de considération qu'on ne lui en accorde d'ordinaire.

Il semble avoir raison de réhabiliter ce manuscrit. Peut-être risque-t-il de prêter un trop grand rôle aux correcteurs qui auraient traité le texte authentique de Luc en suivant deux traditions différentes également écartées de lui. Dans ces conditions le texte court serait aussi éloigné que le second d'un original perdu. Le chapitre 16 des Actes donne à penser, plutôt, que le texte court représente le travail premier de Luc. En ce cas, le second serait un remaniement plus tardif de l'œuvre initiale.

Si ces retouches et ces additions n'ont pas Luc pour auteur — et il est difficile d'être totalement affirmatif —, elles révèlent tout au moins une personnalité forte, un écrivain sachant bien le meilleur grec, habile à tirer parti du texte court rédigé par Luc, un historien renseigné à bonne source sur les faits qu'il relate et qui, s'il ajoute des détails, les choisit utiles et significatifs comme s'il avait à répondre à des questions ou à des objections, un auteur enfin porté à fouiller plus à fond la psychologie de ses personnages en connaisseur des replis du cœur humain.

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## Indices d'une Septante originelle dans le Psautier Grec

La théorie de Paul Kahle est de ces thèses qu'on n'a jamais fini de réfuter: la pertinence des arguments avancés à leur encontre ne suffit pas à dissiper le doute qu'elles susciterent. Plus que la ténacité avec laquelle Kahle défendit ses idées, deux facteurs expliquent le retentissement de ses écrits sur la LXX:

1) Dès 1915, Kahle critiqua l'idée — véritable «parole d'évangile» depuis Lagarde<sup>(1)</sup> — qu'une LXX originelle, une «UrSeptuaginta», était sous-jacente à tous les manuscrits de ce texte. De même que les targums «officiels» procédèrent de traductions orales, multiples et indépendantes, de même il n'existe pas, selon lui, un Urtext de la LXX (c'est-à-dire une LXX une et originelle) mais des versions grecques dont la diversité se manifeste à travers les divergences des manuscrits de ce texte. De ces divers «targums grecs» émergea, mais tardivement, un «Christian standard text» de la Bible grecque<sup>(2)</sup>, mais celui-ci ne représente que le stade ultime d'un processus complexe<sup>(3)</sup>; dès lors, «die älteste Form dieser Übersetzung rekonstruieren zu wollen, ist eine Utopie»<sup>(4)</sup>. Héritière de Lagarde, l'édition critique de Göttingen s'inscrit directement en faux par rapport à cette assertion puisque son ambition est de reconstituer le texte septantiste sous sa forme originelle et de proposer, selon les mots de M. Margolis, «the nearest approach to the Greek original as it left the hands of the translator(s)». Même si les éditeurs de Göttingen, et en particulier Margolis sur le livre de Josué, ont montré de facto l'existence pour la plupart des livres septantistes d'un texte de base unique, l'objection de Kahle conserve de son prestige: elle resurgit à chaque difficulté rencontrée par la critique textuelle dont elle constitue comme la mauvaise conscience<sup>(5)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> «Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes», *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 88 (1915); repris dans P. KAHLE, *Opera Minora* (Leyde 1956) 37.

<sup>(2)</sup> S. JELICOE, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford 1968) 61, analyse l'ambiguïté de cette expression chez Kahle.

<sup>(3)</sup> P. KAHLE, *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford 1959) 213-214.

<sup>(4)</sup> «Untersuchungen...», 36.

<sup>(5)</sup> Ainsi la distinction délicate entre Lucien et un «proto-Lucien»: dans «Problems of the Septuagint», *Studia Patristica*, I 1 (Berlin 1945) 328-338, Kahle tire argument d'un texte proto-lucianique, le pap. 458 de la Bibliothèque J. Rylands (2<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.), pour établir l'existence d'une version antiochienne de la Bible grecque, ancêtre de la recension lucianique. Il est curieux qu'à aucun moment, il n'envisage l'hypothèse pourtant plausible que ce fragment corresponde à une recension particulièrement ancienne de la LXX.

2) Les arguments que Kahle consacra à la LXX dans *The Cairo Geniza*<sup>(6)</sup> furent point par point réfutés<sup>(7)</sup>, mais si ses adversaires en prouvèrent l'inanité, ils n'établirent jamais *positivement* l'impossibilité de ses conceptions: les thèses de Kahle tombaient, mais l'hypothèse attachée à son nom restait virtuellement intacte. Le premier, D. Barthélemy apporta dans *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*<sup>(8)</sup> une réfutation de cette hypothèse elle-même: il montra que les fragments grecs du Dodécaprophéton, découverts en 1952 dans le Désert de Juda et datant du premier siècle ap. J.-C., ne constituaient pas une version indépendante de la LXX mais une recension faite à partir de celle-ci; il mit surtout en évidence, dans les livres constituant le «groupe *kaigé*», divers essais de traduction homogène qui permettent de supposer entre ces textes une cohérence et interdisent d'y voir le produit de traductions indépendantes les uns des autres. Doit-on, pour autant, suivre F. M. Cross lorsqu'il affirme: «the *Kaige* Recension is of decisive bearing on the debate over Septuagint origins. It brings a qualified victory to the Lagarde school»<sup>(9)</sup>? Ce serait assimiler la LXX à une de ses révisions ultérieures; l'étude du groupe *kaigé* nous renseigne précieusement sur l'état du texte grec au 1<sup>er</sup> siècle ap. J.-C. (soit près de trois siècles avant deux des grands onciaux) mais non sur la période précédente; D. Barthélemy note lui-même avec une prudence plus appropriée: «nous pouvons conclure avec fermeté que cette découverte n'apporte aucun fondement à la thèse des targums grecs chère à Kahle»<sup>(10)</sup>.

Mais peut-on opposer à la théorie de Kahle une objection qui, comparable à celle de Barthélemy, concerne un état antérieur du texte septantiste? On tâchera ici de le faire à propos du Psautier. L'argument le plus convaincant de Kahle consiste à se fonder sur un manuscrit très ancien de la Bible grecque (ainsi celui cité à la note 5) et une recension bien ultérieure (dans ce cas la recension lucianique) pour établir que des versions grecques de la Bible existaient à date très ancienne en dehors d'Alexandrie et qu'elles jouirent d'une réelle autorité puisqu'elles survécurent dans des éditions très postérieures (ici, de cinq siècles)<sup>(11)</sup>. Sans discuter cet argument, on lui en opposera un autre: divers éléments du Psautier septantiste permettent d'établir que ce texte est dû à un traducteur unique ou — ce qui revient au même — à un groupe de traducteurs travaillant en étroite collaboration<sup>(12)</sup>; attestés dans les

<sup>(6)</sup> *Op. cit.*, 209-261.

<sup>(7)</sup> J. W. WEVERS, «Proto-Septuagint Studies», *Essays in Honour of T. J. Meek* (Toronto 1964) 62-67 et S. JELICOE, *The Septuagint*, 60 pour l'interprétation de la *Lettre d'Aristée*; P. KATZ, *TZ* 5 (1949) 15-24 pour l'argument tiré des citations philoniennes de la Bible; H. M. ORLINSKY, *JAOS* 69 (1949) 165 pour celui fondé sur les citations de l'AT dans le NT.

<sup>(8)</sup> *VTS* 10 (Leiden 1963).

<sup>(9)</sup> *HTR* 57 (1964) 283.

<sup>(10)</sup> *Les Devanciers*, 272.

<sup>(11)</sup> *The Cairo Geniza*, 220-222.

<sup>(12)</sup> Il ne s'agit pas ici de déterminer si la LXX Ps a été composée par un traducteur (thèse de M. FLASHAR, *ZAW* 32 [1912] 85), deux (cf. St J. THACKERAY, *JTS* 9 [1907-1908], 90-92) ou plusieurs; réfuter Kahle consiste à montrer que ce texte résulte d'une entreprise *homogène*, sinon cohérente et que, contrai-

trois types textuels repérés par Rahlfs<sup>(13)</sup>, ces éléments laissent supposer une homogénéité de ce texte à une époque relativement reculée: même si nos témoins du texte de Haute-Égypte, de Basse-Égypte et d'Occident ne sont pas antérieurs au 4<sup>e</sup> siècle (en fait, les Mss 2014 et 2019 sont plus anciens), des auteurs patristiques, rangés sans difficulté par Rahlfs dans l'un de ces trois types, citent le Psautier jusque deux siècles plus tôt<sup>(14)</sup>; par ailleurs, la présence à côté du Ms 2013 d'une traduction sahidique qui lui est contemporaine (4<sup>e</sup> siècle) suggère l'existence d'un texte de Haute-Égypte plus ancien qu'eux et dont ils dépendraient l'un et l'autre<sup>(15)</sup>. Enfin, il est probable que les traditions textuelles de Haute et de Basse-Égypte aient divergé à une date reculée<sup>(16)</sup>. Dans ces conditions, l'existence dans toutes les familles de manuscrits (mais surtout dans celles de Haute et de Basse-Égypte) d'éléments caractéristiques d'un texte homogène accrédite l'hypothèse d'un Psautier originel et unique, en somme d'un Urtext septantiste<sup>(17)</sup>. Ces éléments sont de trois ordres.

### I. Récurrences de traductions spécifiques au Psautier

Justes ou fautives, elles témoignent de la cohésion du texte septantiste; parmi de nombreux exemples, on citera ceux-ci<sup>(18)</sup>:

a) le substantif *nêd*, très rare dans la Bible, est employé en Ex 15,8 et en Jos 3,13.16, au sens d'une digue formée dans un cas par l'ouverture de la Mer Rouge, dans l'autre par l'arrêt du Jourdain; il est rendu dans la LXX Ex par τεῖχος et dans la LXX Jos par πῆγμα (en LXX Jos 3,13, le mot n'est pas traduit). Deux psaumes historiques emploient le mot *nêd*; les deux stiques où on le trouve sont traduits ainsi: συνάγων ὡς ἄσκὸν ὕδατα θαλάσσης (32,7); ἔστησεν ὕδατα ὡσεὶ ἄσκόν (77,13)<sup>(19)</sup>. La traduction par ἄσκός résulte d'une confusion entre *nêd* et *nô'd*, «outre»; commune aux deux psaumes, cette

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rement à ce qu'affirme Kahle, il n'est pas «gleichbedeutend mit einer allmählichen Angleichung von Übersetzungen» («Untersuchungen...», 36).

<sup>(13)</sup> *Psalmi cum Odis* (Göttingen 1931) 21-52.

<sup>(14)</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-21.

<sup>(15)</sup> Le pap. Bodmer XXIV, si important pour la connaissance du texte de Haute-Égypte, date lui-même, selon ses éditeurs, de la fin du 3<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.

<sup>(16)</sup> Sans doute avant le 2<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C. puisque la célèbre glose du Ps 95,10 (ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν) ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, attestée dans le texte occidental et de Haute-Égypte et citée par Barnabé, Justin et Tertullien, est absente de B et S (Basse-Égypte).

<sup>(17)</sup> Plusieurs manuscrits ont été corrigés sous l'influence de la Vulgate lucianique, cf. A. RAHLFS, *Septuaginta-Studien*, I-III (Göttingen 1965<sup>2</sup>) 57-59. Cependant, une harmonisation tardive ne peut expliquer l'unanimité des Mss dans les cas cités ici: vu leur nombre, ce serait peu plausible et surtout, ces leçons sont attestées par A, non retouché à partir de L.

<sup>(18)</sup> Lorsque nous indiquons une seule numérotation, elle renvoie — sauf mention contraire — à celle de la LXX Ps.

<sup>(19)</sup> Quelques variantes pour la préposition (ὡς, ὡς εἰς) mais aucune pour le substantif.

erreur s'explique soit par l'identité de leur traducteur, soit par l'influence — facilitée par la ressemblance des contextes — d'une traduction sur l'autre.

b) Attesté seulement dans les Psaumes, le verbe *'âšēš* pose un problème de compréhension: Radak et Ibn Ezra, suivis par quelques exégètes modernes, le rattachent à *'âš*, «pourriture» et comprennent «se pourrir», «se miter»<sup>(20)</sup>. La LXX Ps rend le verbe dans ses trois occurrences par *ταράσσειν*: *ἐταράχθη ἀπὸ θυμοῦ ὁ ὀφθαλμός μου* (6,8), *ἐταράχθη ἐν θυμῷ ὁ ὀφθαλμός μου... καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ μου ἐταράχθησαν* (30,10.11). On peut supposer de la part du (des) traducteur(s) une extrapolation fondée sur le troisième emploi de ce verbe hébreu (dans ce cas, la présence de *ταράσσειν* en 6,8 attesterait, pour la traduction, un mode de composition «rétroactif») ou avancer l'interprétation suivante: en 30(31),10.11, *'âšēš* est utilisé à propos de l'œil et des os; en 6,8, à propos de l'œil alors que, quelques versets auparavant (6,3), il est fait mention des os: *nibehalû 'ašâmây* = *ἐταράχθη τὰ ὀστᾶ μου*. Le parallélisme «œil»/«os» de 30(31),10.11 a pu suggérer au(x) traducteur(s) le rapprochement de 6,3 et de 6,8 et inspirer comme une équation sémantique déterminant à partir du sens de *bâhal* celui de *'âšēš*. En tout état de cause, la traduction identique de ce verbe aux Ps 6 et 30 ne peut être fortuite.

c) Les substantifs *šûr* (TM 92,12) et *šôrêr* (TM 5,9; 27,11; 54,7; 56,3; 59,11) se rencontrent uniquement dans les Psaumes. Rashi et Ibn Ezra rattachent, à juste titre semble-t-il<sup>(21)</sup>, ces deux mots au verbe *šûr*, «voir», «observer»<sup>(22)</sup>; dans la LXX Ps un tel rapprochement n'est jamais fait (on peut se demander, il est vrai, si le traducteur connaissait ce verbe) mais ces deux mots sont constamment rendus par *ὁ ἔχθρός*. Le vocabulaire de la méchanceté, de l'hostilité est dans la LXX Ps particulièrement vaste; dès lors, même si une telle traduction correspond bien au sens contextuel, sa récurrence s'explique soit par l'identité du traducteur, soit par la reprise en divers lieux du texte d'une traduction adoptée en tel autre.

d) La traduction des verbes *qârâ*, «appeler» et *šâma*, «entendre» constitue un exemple significatif. Le premier prend souvent le sens de «crier à l'aide» et il n'est pas étonnant de le trouver dans les Psaumes traduit par *κράζειν*; cependant, d'autres livres rendent cette acception du verbe par *βοᾶν* (ex. Is 58,9) ou simplement *καλεῖν* (ex. Job 9,16); aussi, la constance de sa traduction par *κράζειν* (22 fois dans les Psaumes) paraît-elle procéder d'un parti pris. La traduction de *šâma* tantôt par *ἀκούειν*, tantôt par *εἰσακούειν* obéit également à des principes cohérents: lorsque leur «Vorlage» mentionne que «Dieu entend» et que le contexte suggère qu'il entend favorablement, les traducteurs explicitent en grec ce sens et emploient *εἰσακούειν* (= «exaudire»); ils réservent *ἀκούειν* au simple acte d'entendre. Aussi, pour le même

<sup>(20)</sup> Ad Ps 30(31).

<sup>(21)</sup> Dans son *Dictionnaire*, GESENIUS propose de voir dans *šôrêr* un participe *pô'lel* de *šûr* avec omission de la préformante *me*.

<sup>(22)</sup> Ad 5,9 et 92(91),12. L'exégèse rabbinique n'est pas invoquée comme un argument d'autorité; elle renseigne simplement sur la réaction de lecteurs qui, éloignés dans le temps par rapport aux Septante, furent confrontés sans doute aux mêmes difficultés textuelles que ceux-ci.

terme hébreu, trouve-t-on par exemple en 33,3 ἀκούειν, en 33,7 εισακούειν, en 33,12 ἀκούειν, en 33,18 εισακούειν. Cette distinction, sans être absente du reste de la LXX, n'y est pas nettement respectée<sup>(23)</sup>; dans ces conditions, la cohérence avec laquelle *šāma'* est rendu dans ses 71 occurrences des Psaumes implique des règles strictes de traduction.

En outre, εισακούειν ainsi que ἐπακούειν traduisent fréquemment dans les Psaumes le verbe *'ânâh*, «répondre»; le traducteur n'ignore pas le sens de ce verbe courant (en 118,42, il le rend par ἀποκρίνεσθαι) mais il choisit de traduire l'expression «Dieu répond» (sc. avec bienveillance) par εισακούειν (de nouveau = «exaudire»). En dehors du Psautier, cette interprétation paraît limitée aux livres septantistes dont la traduction fut nettement influencée par celle des Psaumes (Job, Proverbes, Michée). La traduction de *'ânâh* par εισακούειν représente donc une innovation de la LXX Ps; la cohérence absolue de ce texte par rapport à ce critère privilégié<sup>(24)</sup> donne à penser que le Psautier grec est l'œuvre, sinon d'un traducteur unique, du moins d'un groupe de traducteurs travaillant selon des règles fixes<sup>(25)</sup>.

## II. Traduction de la double recension d'un même psaume

A diverses reprises, on trouve dans un psaume hébreu quelques versets déjà présents dans tel autre; on négligera ici la reprise d'un seul verset, peu pertinente car trop limitée, et l'on s'en tiendra aux unités de quatre versets ou plus; on en compte cinq dans le Psautier<sup>(26)</sup>. Elles présentent un intérêt particulier pour l'étude de la traduction grecque; toutefois, l'analyse de ces recensions doubles dans le texte grec se heurte à deux difficultés:

– elle exige une connaissance exacte de la Vorlage des traducteurs; il serait hasardeux d'identifier celle-ci au texte massorétique quand plusieurs éléments prouvent que le Psautier hébraïque s'est assez mal conservé<sup>(27)</sup>. Un

<sup>(23)</sup> Pour un syntagme absolument identique, comparer Ex 15,26 (ἀκούειν) et Deut 15,5 (εισακούειν).

<sup>(24)</sup> A 33 reprises et du Ps 3 au Ps 142, *'ânâh* est rendu par εισακούειν et par ἐπακούειν.

<sup>(25)</sup> Dans une note intitulée «The meaning of ἐπακούω and cognates in the LXX», *JTS* 31 (1980) 67-72, J. BARR entreprend de montrer que les verbes εισακούειν et ἐπακούειν peuvent *en grec* signifier «répondre». Comme aucune des données épigraphiques proposées n'est véritablement probante, la démonstration s'appuie uniquement sur des occurrences septantistes: difficiles et ambiguës pour la plupart, elles fournissent peu d'appui à l'argumentation; toutes, elles pourraient signifier «exaudire»: il est étonnant que l'auteur n'envisage pas ce sens qui, seul, rend compréhensible l'emploi de εισακούειν pour traduire *'ânâh*, «répondre» et *šāma'*, «entendre».

<sup>(26)</sup> 52(53) / 13(14); 39(40),14-18 / 69(70),2-6; 30(31),1-4 / 70(71),1-3; 56(57),8-12 + 59(60),7-14 / 107(108); 113,13-14.16-19 (115,5-6.8-12) / 134(135),16-20.

<sup>(27)</sup> On relève plus de cent variantes entre le Ps 17(18) et sa recension parallèle en 2 S 22. Toutefois, les divergences entre la LXX Ps et le TM sont moindres que celles qui séparent ce dernier des fragments trouvés à Qumrân. En

tel constat appelle la prudence par rapport aux remarques que suscite la comparaison de ces textes: en 69(70),4, la traduction de *hâ'omerîm*, «ceux qui disent», par οἱ λέγοντές μοι paraît un emprunt à 39(40),16 où le pronom μοι correspond normalement à l'hébreu *lî*; toutefois, la présence du pronom en 70(69),4 dans le Targum et la Peshitta rend cette interprétation très suspecte;

– dans ces doubles recensions plus qu'ailleurs, un souci d'harmonisation a pu amener à modifier la traduction originelle: 134,17b-e («ils ont des narines et ne sentent pas...») appartient-il à celle-ci ou correspond-il à une glose ultérieure inspirée par 113,14-15? En ce lieu comme en plusieurs autres, il est difficile de se prononcer.

En somme, dans le cas de ces recensions doubles, l'établissement des textes hébreu et grec se révèle encore plus difficile que pour le reste du Psautier. Pourtant, menée avec la prudence nécessaire la comparaison de ces traductions grecques demeure possible. On n'en propose pas ici une étude exhaustive mais parmi tant d'indices on en retiendra quelques-uns: ils montrent clairement que le traducteur de l'une de ces recensions s'est reporté à la traduction déjà existante de l'autre; ces indices tiennent a) aux divergences entre l'hébreu et le grec, b) aux contresens communs aux deux textes grecs, c) aux interprétations identiques, d) aux variations lexicales d'un texte à l'autre.

#### a) Divergence entre le texte hébreu et sa traduction:

On a déjà indiqué le caractère aléatoire d'un tel argument; il ne semble cependant pas déplacé dans le cas suivant: 70(71),3 contient l'expression *lâbô' tâmîd*, «pour (y) aller», confirmée par le Targum: *lemê'al tedîrâ'* <sup>(28)</sup>; la traduction septantiste, καὶ εἰς τόπον ὄχυρόν, en est très éloignée; elle correspond probablement à un emprunt à 30(31),3 où cette expression grecque rend très normalement *lebêyt mešûdôt*.

#### b) Contresens communs:

Par ailleurs absents de la LXX, ils établissent nettement la dépendance d'une traduction par rapport à l'autre.

– en 39(40),16 et en 69(70),4, *'al 'êqêb (boštâm)*, «en conséquence de leur honte», est traduit dans un cas par παραχρημα, dans l'autre par παρατίκα <sup>(29)</sup>;

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effet, ceux-ci attestent, quant à l'ordre du recueil et à son contenu, plusieurs divergences par rapport au Psautier «canonique». Cela montre que jusqu'en 68 ap. J.-C., survécurent d'autres types de collections; à cet égard, la proximité entre la LXX Ps et le TM Ps n'en est que plus remarquable.

<sup>(28)</sup> Le Targum des Psaumes suit assez littéralement l'hébreu et l'on est tenté de l'utiliser comme témoin d'un état pré-massorétique du texte hébreu. Pourtant, sa rédaction sans doute peu antérieure à celle du TM a pu être influencée par un texte voisin de ce dernier.

<sup>(29)</sup> L'apparat de la BHS manque ici de cohérence puisqu'il mentionne la traduction de la LXX dans le premier cas mais non dans le second.

- en 13(14),3 et en 52(53),4, on trouve l'expression *yahdâw né'êlâhû*; dans la Bible, le verbe ne se rencontre que dans ces deux occurrences et dans le livre de Job; le sens est sans doute ici «ils sont tous corrompus». La traduction, identique dans ces deux cas par ἡμεῖς ἡχρεώθησαν manifeste, vu la rareté relative de ce verbe grec, une influence évidente d'un texte sur l'autre<sup>(30)</sup>;

- en 59(60),10, *'âlay peléšét hitro'â'î* présente une ambiguïté car le verbe peut venir soit de *râ'a'*, «briser» soit de *rûa'*, «crier» (d'où la traduction pertinente de la TOB: «Philistie, brise-toi contre moi en criant»); par contre, en 107(108),10, *'alêy-felêšét 'étrô'â'*, «je crie contre la Philistie», l'ambiguïté n'est grammaticalement plus possible. En grec on ne trouve ni «briser» ni «crier» mais dans un cas comme dans l'autre: ἐμοὶ ἀλλόφυλοι ὑπετάγησαν; cette traduction par ὑποτάσσεσθαι «être soumis» procède d'une extrapolation et constitue une erreur propre à ces deux textes.

c) *Partis pris identiques de traduction:*

Des exemples précédents qui résultent d'une *incompréhension*, on distingue ceux-ci où le(s) traducteur(s) adopte(nt) une *interprétation* semblable et suffisamment originale pour que l'identité des deux textes ne soit pas fortuite:

- on trouve en 30(31),3 *hêyêh lî lešûr-ma'ôz* («sois pour moi un rocher fortifié») mais en 70(71),3, *lešûr ma'ôn* («sois pour moi un rocher où je m'abrite»). Dans les deux cas, le grec comporte γενοῦ μοι εἰς θεὸν ὑπερασπιστήν; en 70(71),3, cette expression ne correspond sans doute pas à une «divergence entre le texte hébreu et sa traduction» (cf. supra, § a) car la Vorlage du traducteur contenait probablement en ce lieu le mot *ma'ôz*<sup>(31)</sup>. Or, dans leurs diverses occurrences, les mots *šûr* et *ma'ôz* sont traduits de façon assez variable (βοηθός, πέτρα pour le premier; κραταίωμα, βοηθός, ἀντίλημψις pour le second); la traduction identique de ce syntagme révèle donc sans doute une parenté entre les Ps 30 et 70;

- en 59(60),10 et en 107(108),10, *mô'âb šîr rahešî*, «Moab, cuvette où je me lave», est traduit: Μωάβ, λέβης τῆς ἐλπίδος μου; le traducteur a évité le très courant *râhaš*, «se laver», au profit de l'araméen *rehêš*, «avoir confiance», fréquent dans les targums mais inexistant dans la Bible. Le piètre sens du grec («Moab, chaudron de mon espoir») rend peu plausible l'hypothèse d'un aramaïsme spontané mais laisse supposer un parti pris «antianthropomorphiste» jouant de l'homonymie entre l'hébreu et l'araméen<sup>(32)</sup>. La

<sup>(30)</sup> *LSJ*, citant Ps 13(14),3, traduisent «to be corrupted». En fait, rien en grec n'autorise cette compréhension et les autres attestations septantistes de ce verbe signifient clairement «rendre inutile ou inutilisable» (cf. IV R 3,19, à propos de la dévastation d'une terre arable: καὶ πᾶσαν μερίδα ἀγαθὴν ἀχρειώσετε ἐν λίθοις = «vous la rendrez inutilisable en y jetant des pierres»).

<sup>(31)</sup> En effet la traduction de Symmaque et celle du Targum correspondent à ce terme. La LXX lit aussi *ma'ôz* et non *ma'ôn* en 89(90),1 et en 90(91),9.

<sup>(32)</sup> A. SOFFER, «The Treatment of Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopaths in the Septuagint of Psalms», *HUCA* 28 (1957) 85-107, définit de façon



conformité des Ps 59 et 107 sur ce point manifeste la parenté entre les deux traductions;

– en 143(144),1-2, Dieu est évoqué à travers les mêmes métaphores qu'en 17(18),1 (*šûrî, mešûdatî, mišgabbî, mefaltî, mâginnî*); bien que ces mots reçoivent dans le Psautier des traductions variables, ils sont rendus dans ces deux textes de façon absolument identique; il est donc probable que la traduction du Ps 143 a été influencée par celle du Ps 17.

d) *Divergences libres*<sup>(33)</sup>:

Paradoxalement, les écarts entre la traduction d'un psaume et celle de sa recension parallèle révèlent le lien qui les unit aussi clairement que l'inventaire de leurs ressemblances. En effet ces divergences sont si dénuées de portée qu'elles ne peuvent s'expliquer que par le souci de proposer une *formulation* nouvelle qui reprenne cependant *l'interprétation* de la traduction consultée. En somme, la seconde traduction se donne comme une «révision stylistique» de la première et non comme une *autre* traduction, ainsi que le suggèrent les exemples suivants:

– 13,3: ποιῶν χρηστότητα / 52,4: ποιῶν ἀγαθόν (dans la LXX Ps les deux termes sont absolument synonymes);

– 13,4: οἱ κατεσθίοντες τὸν λαόν μου / 52,5: οἱ ἔσθοντες τὸν λαόν μου.

– 39,15: καταισχυνθείσαν / 69,3: αἰσχυνθείσαν;

– 39,16: παραχρῆμα / 69,4: παραντίκα (cf. supra);

– 39,17: καὶ εἰπάτωσαν / 69,5: καὶ λεγέτωσαν;

– 59,14: τοὺς θλίβοντας ἡμᾶς / 107,14: τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν (de nouveau, termes synonymes dans la LXX Ps).

De pareilles remarques pourraient être faites sur l'usage des modes: quand un texte emploie l'optatif (39,17: ἀγαλλιάσαιντο καὶ εὐφρανθείσαν ἐπὶ σοὶ πάντες οἱ ζητοῦντές σε), l'autre adopte le subjonctif (69,5: ἀγαλλιάσθωσαν...). L'interprétation de ces divergences gratuites pose un problème<sup>(34)</sup>, mais, en elles-mêmes, elles constituent un nouvel argument en faveur de la dépendance d'une traduction par rapport à l'autre.

Tels des miroirs se faisant face, ces recensions doubles renvoient, dans le texte grec, l'une à l'autre; réparties à l'intérieur de tout le recueil, elles don-

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trop étroite la notion d'anthropomorphisme et néglige de tels phénomènes de traduction; pris en considération, ils modifieraient sensiblement les conclusions de son étude.

<sup>(33)</sup> On emploie cet adjectif au sens où les linguistes parlent de «variantes libres» pour les opposer aux «variantes pertinentes».

<sup>(34)</sup> En 2 S 22, on trouve une recension parallèle du Ps 17(18) et en 1 Ch 16, une recension des Ps 104(105); 95(96); 105(106). Il n'est pas douteux que les traducteurs septantistes (ou des recenseurs ultérieurs?) de 2 S et de 1 Ch se sont inspirés de la LXX Ps; or, on constate également dans ces deux cas une volonté d'occulter cette influence.

nent de ce texte l'image d'une entreprise homogène et non celle d'un agrégat de traductions rassemblées lors d'une harmonisation tardive.

### III. Du Ps 1 au Ps 151

Les rédacteurs de la LXX Ps se sont reportés soigneusement aux psaumes déjà traduits; dans cette mesure, la traduction du Psautier a été à elle-même son propre modèle et sa relative cohérence provient de cette composition originale s'autorisant sans cesse des choix auparavant adoptés et les entérinant scrupuleusement<sup>(35)</sup>. Cette consultation perpétuelle, en même temps qu'elle confirme l'homogénéité de cette traduction, révèle qu'elle fut menée depuis le premier psaume jusqu'au dernier, comme un livre est traduit de sa première à sa dernière page. Une telle consultation des psaumes déjà traduits n'apparaît jamais plus clairement que lorsqu'elle aboutit à un contresens:

- en 28(29),9, *qôl yhwh yehôlêl 'ayyâlôt* pose un problème: au hiphil (ainsi dans ses deux emplois au verset précédent), le verbe signifie «faire trembler»; ici au po'lel, il garde l'idée d'un tremblement, mais le sens, plus précis, désigne sans doute les tremblements de l'accouchement, d'où la traduction de la TOB: «la voix du Seigneur fait trembler les biches en travail»; le traducteur n'ignore pas complètement ce sens puisqu'en 50(51),7, il rend le même verbe au po'lal par συλλαμβάνεσθαι, évoquant ainsi la conception au lieu de l'enfantement. Dès lors, pourquoi trouve-t-on en 28,9: φωνή κυρίου καταρτιζομένου ἐλάφους? L'explication ne peut être que la suivante: le traducteur de 28(29) s'est reporté à la précédente occurrence du nom 'ayyâlâh afin d'adopter la même traduction; il a ainsi consulté 17(18),34: ὁ καταρτιζόμενος τοὺς πόδας μου ὡς ἐλάφου et a emprunté à cette phrase non seulement le substantif mais par erreur le verbe;

- en 37(38),18, *'anî lešela' nâkôn*, «je suis sur le point de tomber», comporte un substantif très rare puisqu'on ne le trouve qu'ici, en 34(35),15 et une fois dans Jérémie; le traducteur en a, la première fois, extrapolé le sens et s'est, la seconde fois, reporté à cette première occurrence. Toutefois, en 37,18, la traduction par ἐγὼ εἰς μαστίγας ἔτοιμος provient d'une confusion: le traducteur a relu le Ps 34,15 (Καὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ ἠϋφράνθησαν καὶ συνήχθησαν, συνήχθησαν ἐπ' ἐμὲ μαστίγες καὶ οὐκ ἔγνων) et a emprunté μαστίγες alors que *šela'* y était traduit par κατ' ἐμοῦ;

- en 87(88),17, *bi'ûtéykâ šimmetûtunî*, «tes terreurs m'ont anéanti», est rendu par οἱ φοβερισμοί σου ἐξετάραζάν με. Malgré la rareté du substantif hébreu (attesté seulement dans ce psaume et une fois dans Job), curieusement l'inexactitude touche ici la traduction du verbe; dans les Psaumes, ce

<sup>(35)</sup> Cette cohérence de la traduction n'est pas absolue: le même terme est souvent dans la LXX Ps traduit différemment. M. FLASHAR, «Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter», ZAW 32 (1912) 96-116, montre bien la coexistence des «stehenden Übersetzungen» et des «differenzierenden Übersetzungen» mais ne parvient pas à en déceler la logique; la tâche semble en effet impossible.

dernier est pourtant correctement traduit (ἐξολεθρεῦειν: 17,41, al.; ἀφανίζειν: 93,23). Cette particularité s'explique ainsi: sans doute gêné par la rareté du substantif *bi' ūtim*, le traducteur s'est reporté à la seule occurrence du verbe apparenté *bā'at*, et en a trouvé en 17,5 la traduction suivante: καὶ χεῖμαρροι ἀνομίας ἐξετάραξάν με. A ce stade, il s'est produit dans son esprit une confusion: il s'est inspiré pour traduire le verbe présent dans sa Vorlage d'une citation consultée en fait pour la traduction d'un substantif<sup>(36)</sup>: paradoxalement, en 87,17 le verbe courant est mal traduit et le substantif rare l'est correctement.

Outre ces trois exemples, le texte en fournirait de nombreux autres; ils ne renseignent pas seulement sur les tâtonnements qui accompagnèrent la composition du Psautier grec mais fournissent des informations bien plus précieuses: d'une part ils confirment que la traduction de tel psaume s'inspira de celle de tel autre; d'autre part ils montrent qu'au moment où l'on rédigeait la fin du Psautier grec, le début se présentait sous la forme attestée par nos témoins de ce texte. A cet égard, ces contresens indiquent à leur façon que ce texte est homogène<sup>(37)</sup> et qu'il fut composé à une date relativement ancienne.

Joint aux deux précédents, cet argument rend fortement improbable la thèse de P. Kahle: le Psautier grec comporte en ses diverses parties trop d'éléments qui se font écho pour qu'on y voie l'harmonisation tardive de traductions indépendantes. En outre, les cinq familles de manuscrits distinguées par Rahlfs<sup>(38)</sup> attestent toutes ce texte<sup>(39)</sup> et la sixième, formée de textes composites et difficiles à classer, ne suffit pas à accréditer l'hypothèse de traductions parallèles à celle de la LXX. Il semble donc que la LXX Ps

<sup>(36)</sup> Cette interprétation rend la leçon d'ASR adoptée par Rahlfs (ἐξετάραξαν) préférable à celle de B (ἐτάραξαν).

<sup>(37)</sup> Une différence d'inspiration semble se faire jour dans la dernière partie de l'œuvre; une telle affirmation tient beaucoup de l'appréciation subjective; pourtant, dans le dernier quart du texte (le long Ps 118(119) marque peut-être une limite), on constate de nouvelles habitudes de traduction: par exemple, *lēhēm* n'est plus rendu par ἄρτος mais par τροφή; *šāma'*-hiphil n'est plus traduit par ἀκουτίζειν mais par ἀκουστὸν ποιεῖν, etc. Toutefois, la traduction en 143(144),14, de *ēyn-pérēs* par οὐκ ἔστιν κατάπτωμα φραγμοῦ constitue, comme les contresens évoqués plus haut, un emprunt illégitime à 79(80),13 ou à 88(89),41. Ce dernier quart du Psautier appartient donc à la même traduction mais est peut-être dû à un traducteur procédant selon des principes quelque peu différents.

<sup>(38)</sup> Le classement de Rahlfs a été sur certains points réfuté, cf. A. PIETERS-MA, «Proto-Lucian and the Greek Psalter», *VT* 28 (1978) 68; dans l'ensemble, il demeure cependant pertinent.

<sup>(39)</sup> Il est vrai que l'unanimité des trois types textuels ne garantit pas l'appartenance d'une leçon à l'*Urtext*: présent dans les trois familles de manuscrits, 13,3 n'en constitue pas moins une glose chrétienne inspirée par Rom 3,10-18; divers titres de psaumes, également bien attestés, correspondent à des gloses juives postérieures à la traduction. Dénués de portée théologique ou liturgique, les exemples cités dans ces pages sont d'un autre ordre: leur présence dans tous les types textuels a peu de chances de provenir de gloses ou de retouches; elle renvoie plus probablement à l'état originel du texte.

résulte d'*une* traduction et qu'elle se soit très tôt imposée comme *la* traduction grecque du Psautier.

Du fait de son importance liturgique, celui-ci aurait pu, plus que d'autres livres, susciter des traductions nombreuses; recueil de textes brefs, il était propre à réunir en grec, tel un florilège, des traductions d'origine diverse. En fait, une traduction homogène, la «LXX Ps», nous est seule attestée; ainsi, même dans le cas de ce livre, la thèse de Kahle ne peut être soutenue.

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## The Representation of the Causative Aspects of the *hiph'il* in the LXX A Study in Translation Technique \*

The causative aspects of the *hiph'il* are represented in the LXX in one of the following ways:(<sup>1</sup>)

- I. Verbs which bear no special features(<sup>2</sup>)
- II. Causative suffixes
- III. Auxiliary verbs
- IV. Reversal of the causative action

No data are available for the relative frequency of each of the above-mentioned techniques. In some cases the availability to the translator of certain Greek verbs brought about the use of one technique rather than another one (e.g., the existence in Greek of verbs ending with -όω, -ύνω, etc.). It is not impossible that because of this reason the translator of Am 8,5 *lhq̄tyn 'yph wlhgdyl šql* rendered the second verb with μεγαλύναι, but the first one with ποιῆσαι μικρόν ((σ)μικρύνειν is used but infrequently in the LXX in a causative sense).

In some cases a given *hiph'il* form was rendered by a single technique, but in other instances alternative techniques were used within the same book or in different books. Thus *h(y)tyb* is rendered by both αγαθόω, αγαθύνω,

\* Thanks are due to Ms. S. Ory for helpful comments.

(<sup>1</sup>) For previous (short) discussions of this issue, see H. G. S. THIERSCH, *De Pentateuchi versione alexandrina libri tres* (Erlangen 1841) 150-153; M. L. MAR-GOLIS, "Studien im griechischen alten Testament", *ZAW* 27 (1907) 238; R. HELBING, *Die Kasussyntax der Verba bei den Septuaginta* (Göttingen 1928) *passim*; I. L. SEELIGMANN, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah* (Leiden 1948) 55; P. KATZ, "Zur Übersetzungstechnik der Septuaginta", *WO* 2 (1954-59) 269-272; I. SOISALON-SOININEN, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta* (AASF B 132,1; Helsinki 1965) 134-135; J. R. BUSTO SAIZ, *La traducción de Simaco en el libro de los Salmos* (Textos y Estudios "Cardenal Cisneros" 22; Madrid 1978). For a similar study on the Vulgate, see B. KEDAR-KOPFSTEIN, "Die Wiedergabe des hebräischen Kausatives in der Vulgata", *ZAW* 85 (1973) 196-219.

(<sup>2</sup>) HELBING, *ibid.*, p. 80, n. 1 notes that "composita with κατα- tend towards a causative meaning" (e.g., κατασκηνόω, κατασπεύδω) and H. St. J. THACKERAY, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge 1909) 289 makes a similar remark on composita starting with ἐκ- (e.g., ἐκφοβέω, ἐξαμαρτάνω). However, although these statements may be true with regard to κατα- and ἐκ- in (late) Greek, the relevance of this statement to the LXX cannot be investigated easily.

ἀγαθὸν/ἀγαθὰ ποιέω, ἀγαθαποιέω, as well as by verbs having no external features that represent the causative meaning. Note furthermore the alternative representations of *hiph'il* forms in the two versions of Jgs:

|           |                    |                               |
|-----------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| Jgs 16,26 | <i>whmšny</i> (q), | A... καὶ ποίησον ψηλαφήσαι με |
|           |                    | B... καὶ ψηλαφήσω             |
| Jgs 17,13 | <i>yytyb</i>       | A... ἡγαθοποίησεν             |
|           |                    | B... ἀγαθυνεῖ                 |

It has yet to be determined whether certain translators prefer a given technique<sup>(3)</sup>.

The four different techniques of representing the *hiph'il* are discussed in the following pages.

### I. Verbs which bear no special features

The technique most frequently used for representing the causative forms of the *hiph'il* is the use of Greek verbs whose *contents* express a causative idea. Thus the verbs *hby'* *hwbyl*, *hwryd* and *h'il* are often rendered by φέρω and its compound forms. This group is not discussed here.

### II. Causative suffixes

The causative aspect of the verb is often expressed by causative suffixes, such as are used also in secular Greek:<sup>(4)</sup> -όω, -έω, -άω, -ύω, -ίζω, -άζω, -άνω, -αίνω, -ύνω, -εύνω.

An examination of the occurrence of these verbs in the LXX is of interest for the understanding of translation technique, since there often exists a close relationship between the equivalence of the *hiph'il* form and a causative Greek verb on the one hand and the equivalence of a related Hebrew noun/adjective and its Greek rendering on the other. For example, the pairs *hytyb* - ἀγαθόω (ἀγαθύνω) and *twb* - ἀγαθός are closely related. In this case, as in most other cases, the equivalence *hytyb* ἀγαθόω is probably based on that of *twb* with ἀγαθός, because ἀγαθόω is not evidenced in the Greek language before the time of the LXX, and therefore may have been coined by the translators of the LXX (cf. n. 7). The dependence of the newly coined causative verb on another equivalence is even more evident in the case of ἀβατόω, a *hapax legomenon* in the Greek language<sup>(5)</sup>, occurring in Jer 49,20

<sup>(3)</sup> This subject has to be investigated in greater detail. Note, for example, the large proportion of references to Is, Jer, and Job in group III.

<sup>(4)</sup> See A. DEBRUNNER, *Griechische Wortbildungslehre* (Heidelberg 1917) 89-140; E. MAYSER, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*<sup>2</sup> I, III (Berlin-Leipzig 1936) 126 ff. On the confusion in MSS of the LXX between different causative endings, see P. WALTERS, *The Text of the Septuagint, Its Corruptions and Their Emendation* (Cambridge 1973) 117-121.

<sup>(5)</sup> For details, see E. TOV, *Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 8; Missoula, MT 1976) 46-47.

(29,21). The related ἄβατος occurs within the LXX mainly in the second part of Jer (chapters 29–52 of the LXX), and therefore the use of ἄβατώ for *hšm* (*hiph'il* of *šmm*) in 49,20 (29,21) is clearly based on a rendering which is at home in the second part of Jer.

Presumably equivalences of this type were determined at the level of the individual translations, but at the same time certain renderings or types of renderings were borrowed by translators from other translation units. In fact, the actual procedure was probably more complicated than described above. Not all derived equivalences of the type *hr'* – κακῶ were based on other equivalences (in this case *r'* – κακός). Rather, the equivalence of the whole word-group (root) *r'(')* with the word-group (stem) κακ- was made the basis of many equivalents used throughout the LXX<sup>(6)</sup>.

Examples are provided below for each of the groups of causative suffixes. In all cases related equivalences are listed in the parallel column (e.g., *hryq* – ἐκκενῶ, *rēq* – κενός). The following list is not exhaustive. Furthermore, only one reference is listed even if more references are available. Related equivalents, all occurring in the LXX, are not documented. Presumed neologisms<sup>(7)</sup> are denoted (\*).

### 1. –ῶω

| ἄβατώ *    | <i>hšm</i>     | (Jer 49,20[29,21]) | ἄβατος    | <i>šmmh</i> |
|------------|----------------|--------------------|-----------|-------------|
| ἀγαθῶ *    | <i>h(y)tyb</i> | (Jer 32[39],41)    | ἀγαθός    | <i>twb</i>  |
| δικαιῶ     | <i>hšdyq</i>   | (1 Kgs 8,32)       | δίκαιος   | <i>šdyq</i> |
| ἐκκενῶ     | <i>hryq</i>    | (Cant 1,3)         | κενός     | <i>rq</i>   |
| ἐλαττώ     | <i>hm yt</i>   | (Nm 33,54)         | ἐλάττων   | <i>m' t</i> |
| (ἐξ)ερημῶ  | <i>hhryb</i>   | (2 Kgs 19,17)      | ἐρημος    | <i>hrbh</i> |
| θανατώ     | <i>hmyt</i>    | (Gn 38,10)         | θάνατος   | <i>mwt</i>  |
| θαυμαστώ   | <i>hply'</i>   | (2 Chr 26,15)      | θαυμαστός | <i>npl'</i> |
| κακῶ       | <i>hr</i>      | (Ex 5,22)          | κακός     | <i>r</i>    |
| κατακενῶ * | <i>hryq</i>    | (Gn 42,35)         | κενός     | <i>rq</i>   |
| κατασκηνῶ  | <i>hškyn</i>   | (Ps 7,6)           | σκην-     | <i>škn</i>  |
| ματαιῶ     | <i>hhbyl</i>   | (Jer 23,16)        | μάταιος   | <i>hbl</i>  |
| ταπεινῶ    | <i>hšpyl</i>   | (1 Sm 2,7)         | ταπεινός  | <i>špl</i>  |
| ὕψῶ        | <i>hgbyh</i>   | (Jb 39,27)         | ὕψ-       | <i>gbh</i>  |
|            | <i>hgdyt</i>   | (Is 28,29)         | ὕψ-       | <i>gal</i>  |

<sup>(6)</sup> This technique is usually named etymologizing, and its wider implications cannot be discussed here in detail. For recent discussions of some aspects, see U. RAPALLO, *Calchi ebraici nelle antiche versioni del 'Levitico'* (Roma 1971); E. TOV, "Three Dimensions of LXX Words", *RB* 83 (1976) 529-544; J. BARR, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations* (NAWG I, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1979, 11; Göttingen 1979) 279-325.

<sup>(7)</sup> That is, to the best of our knowledge, the word under consideration was coined by the translators (or a preceding generation) in order to express words or ideas which, in their view, could not be expressed adequately by existing Greek words. Our observations are based on the evidence listed by H. G. LIDDELL-R. SCOTT-H. S. JONES, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford 1940), together with E. A. BARBER, *A Greek-English Lexicon – A Supplement* (Oxford 1968). The very notation of "neologism" is subject to the limitations and doubts such as have been described by E. Tov, "Compound Words in the LXX Representing Two or More Hebrew Words", *Bib* 58 (1977) 199-201.

## 2. -εύω

|                |              |                  |            |             |
|----------------|--------------|------------------|------------|-------------|
| βασιλεύω       | <i>hmlyk</i> | (Jgs 9,16)       | βασιλεύς   | <i>mlk</i>  |
| ειρηνεύω       | <i>hšlym</i> | (1 Kgs 22,45)    | ειρήνη     | <i>šlwm</i> |
| πονηρεύομαι    | <i>hr'</i>   | (Gn 19,7)        | πονηρός    | <i>r'</i>   |
| υπερήφανεύομαι | <i>hzyd</i>  | (Neh 9,16A. . .) | υπερήφανος | <i>zd</i>   |

## 3. -έω

|                  |               |               |            |              |
|------------------|---------------|---------------|------------|--------------|
| άνομέω           | <i>hršy'</i>  | (2 Chr 20,35) | άνομος     | <i>rš'</i>   |
| άσεβέω           | <i>hršy'</i>  | (Jb 9,20)     | άσεβής     | <i>rš'</i>   |
| άφαιρέω          | <i>hrym</i>   | (Lv 2,9)      | άφαίρεμα   | <i>trwmh</i> |
|                  | <i>hnyp</i>   | (Lv 8,29)     | άφαίρεμα   | <i>tnwph</i> |
| έλαττονόω *      | <i>hm' ył</i> | (Ex 30,15)    | έλάττων    | <i>m' t</i>  |
| κατακληρονομέω * | <i>hnhyl</i>  | (Dt 31,7)     | κληρος,    | <i>nhlh</i>  |
|                  |               |               | κληρονομία |              |
| κληρονομέω       | <i>hnhyl</i>  | (Prv 13,22)   | κληρος,    | <i>nhlh</i>  |
|                  |               |               | κληρονομία |              |
| κληρονομέω       | <i>hwryš</i>  | (Nm 14,24)    | κληρος     | <i>yršh</i>  |
|                  |               |               | κληρονομία | <i>twrh</i>  |
| νομοθετέω        | <i>hwrh</i>   | (Ex 24,12)    | νόμος      | <i>twrh</i>  |
| πρωτοτοκέω *     | <i>hbkyl</i>  | (Jer 4,31)    | πρωτότοκος | <i>bkwr</i>  |
| υπερήφανέω       | <i>hzyd</i>   | (Neh 9,10)    | υπερήφανος | <i>zd</i>    |

## 4. -άζω

|              |               |              |          |            |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|----------|------------|
| έκκλησιάζω   | <i>hiqhyl</i> | (Lv 8,3)     | έκκλησία | <i>qhl</i> |
| έξεκκλησιάζω | <i>hqhyl</i>  | (1 Chr 28,1) | »        | »          |
| πλεονάζω     | <i>hrbh</i>   | (Nm 26,54)   | πλείων   | <i>rb</i>  |

## 5. -ύω

|          |              |            |        |             |
|----------|--------------|------------|--------|-------------|
| ένδύω    | <i>hlbyš</i> | (Gn 3,21)  | ένδυμα | <i>lbwš</i> |
| ένισχύω  | <i>hhzyq</i> | (Ez 27,9)  | ισχύ-  | <i>hza</i>  |
| κατισχύω | <i>hhzyq</i> | (Jer 8,21) | »      | »           |

## 6. -ίζω

|              |                    |                |         |                  |
|--------------|--------------------|----------------|---------|------------------|
| άκουτίζω *   | <i>hšmy'</i>       | (Ps 51[50],10) | άκούω   | <i>šm'</i>       |
| άναθεματίζω  | <i>hhrym</i>       | (Nm 21,2)      | ανάθεμα | <i>h'm</i>       |
| ένωτιζομαι * | <i>h' zyn</i>      | (Gn 4,23)      | ώτιον   | <i>zn</i>        |
| κατοικίζω    | <i>hškyn</i>       | (Gn 3,24)      | οίκος   | <i>mškn</i>      |
| κουφίζω      | <i>hql</i>         | (1 Sm 6,5)     | κουφος  | <i>ql</i>        |
| όρκίζω       | <i>hšby'</i>       | (Gn 24,37)     | όρκος   | <i>šbw' h</i>    |
| όρθρίζω      | <i>hškym</i>       | (Gn 19,2)      | (όρθρος | <i>šhr, bar)</i> |
| ποτίζω       | <i>hšqh</i>        | (Gn 2,6)       | πότος   | <i>mšqh</i>      |
| σοφίζω       | <i>hhkym</i>       | (Ps 19[18],8)  | σοφός   | <i>hkm</i>       |
| σπερματίζω   | <i>hzry'</i>       | (Lv 12,2)      | σπέρμα  | <i>zr'</i>       |
| υπερασπίζω   | <i>hgn</i>         | (Zech 9,15)    | άσπίς   | <i>mgn</i>       |
| φωτίζω       | <i>hr' h, hgyh</i> |                | φώς     | <i>ngh, 'wr</i>  |
|              | <i>hwrh, h' yr</i> |                |         |                  |



## 7. -άνω

|            |              |              |         |            |
|------------|--------------|--------------|---------|------------|
| βλαστάνω   | <i>hšmyh</i> | (2 Sm 23,5)  | βλαστός | <i>šmh</i> |
| ἐκβλαστάνω | <i>hšmyh</i> | (Is 55,10)   | »       | »          |
| ἐξαμαρτάνω | <i>hḥty</i>  | (Jgs 20,16B) | ἀμαρτ-  | <i>hṭ</i>  |
|            | <i>hršy</i>  | (Neh 9,33)   | ἀμαρτ-  | <i>rs</i>  |

## 8. -αίνω

|              |                            |                 |        |            |
|--------------|----------------------------|-----------------|--------|------------|
| ξηραίνω      | <i>hwbyš</i>               | (Jer 51[28],36) | ξηρός  | <i>ybs</i> |
| παραπικραίνω | <i>hmrh</i> <sup>(8)</sup> | (Dt 31,27)      | πικρός | <i>mr</i>  |

## 9. -ύνω

|          |              |              |        |             |
|----------|--------------|--------------|--------|-------------|
| ἀγαθύνω  | <i>hytyb</i> | (Ru 3,10)    | ἀγαθός | <i>twb</i>  |
| λεπτύνω  | <i>hdq</i>   | (2 Sm 22,43) | λεπτός | <i>dq</i>   |
| μεγαλύνω | <i>hgdyt</i> | (Gn 19,19)   | μέγας  | <i>gdwl</i> |
| μακρύνω  | <i>h'ryk</i> | (Qoh 8,13)   | μακρ-  | <i>rk</i>   |

## 10. -άω

|        |              |           |          |            |
|--------|--------------|-----------|----------|------------|
| γεννάω | <i>hwlyd</i> | (Gn 5,3)  | γίγνομαι | <i>yld</i> |
| τιμάω  | <i>h'ryk</i> | (Lv 27,8) | τιμή     | <i>rk</i>  |

*Additional note:* Intransitive verbs used transitively in the LXX

Since the above-mentioned suffixes were used often in the LXX, as in secular Greek, to denote causative actions, a further development took place in the LXX. The translators not only employed existing causative verbs and coined new ones, but they also used existing intransitive verbs that ended in -έω, -όω, -άνω, etc., as if they were transitive. The internal logic of the translators' *Systemzwang* thus caused them to distort, in a way, the meaning of existing Greek verbs. E.g., βασιλεύω, usually denoting 'to be king', 'to rule', both within and outside the LXX, is also used in the LXX as an equivalent of *hmlyk* 'to make king' (e.g., Jgs 9,16.18 and *passim* in 1-2 Kgs). Several examples of this type were mentioned by Helbing *Kasussyntax bei den LXX*, pp. 75-80, e.g., ἐξαμαρτάνω - *hḥty* (frequently in 1-2 Kgs, e.g., 1 Kgs 15,26), κατασκηνόω - *hškyn*.

## III. Auxiliary verbs

In Hebrew, the causative aspect of the verb can be expressed either by the internal system of the verb or by an auxiliary verb, mainly 'šh<sup>(9)</sup>. The

<sup>(8)</sup> Note that this rendering, also occurring frequently in Ps., derives *hmrh* from *mrr*; cf. P. WALTERS, *The Text of the Septuagint* (Cambridge 1973) 150-153.

<sup>(9)</sup> For Biblical Hebrew, see W. GESENIUS-E. KAUTZSCH, *Hebrew Grammar* (Oxford 1910) 145, n. 1.

Greek translators similarly expressed the causative aspect of the verb often by an auxiliary verb, mainly ποιέω (this use is also evidenced in secular Greek).

(1) ποιέω

(a) ποιέω + adj./adv.

(a) The adj./adv. is used elsewhere in the LXX to render the same Hebrew root: ἀκουστών ποιέω – *hšmy'*; ἀκουστός – *nšm'*, etc.; *passim*, e.g. Jer 50(27),2 (w)*hšmy'w* – ἀκουσὰ ποιήσατε.

|                  |               |                 |           |              |
|------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------|
| βέλτιον ποιέω    | <i>hytyb</i>  | (Jer 26[33],13) | βελτίων   | <i>twb</i>   |
| ἐγκοπον ποιέω    | <i>hwgy'</i>  | (Is 43,23)      | ἐγκοπος   | <i>yg'</i>   |
| καλλίονα ποιέω   | <i>hytyb</i>  | (Jer 18,11)     | καλός     | <i>twb</i>   |
| καλὸν ποιέω      | <i>hytyb</i>  | (Is 1,17)       | καλός     | <i>twb</i>   |
| μακρὰν ποιέω     | <i>hrhyq</i>  | (Prv 5,8)       | μακράν    | <i>rhwwq</i> |
| μικρὸν ποιέω     | <i>hqtyh</i>  | (Am 8,5)        | μικρός    | <i>qtn</i>   |
| ὀλιγοστούς ποιέω | <i>hm'yti</i> | (Ez 29,15)      | ὀλιγοστός | <i>m't</i>   |
| ὀλίγους ποιέω    | <i>hm'yti</i> | (Jer 10,24)     | ὀλίγος    | <i>m't</i>   |
| πολὺν ποιέω      | <i>hrbh</i>   | (Prv 22,16)     | πολύς     | <i>rb</i>    |
| πόρρω ποιέω      | <i>hrhyq</i>  | (Jb 11,14)      | πόρρω     | <i>rhwwq</i> |
| ταχύ ποιέω       | <i>hql</i>    | (Is 8,23)       | ταχύς     | <i>qll</i>   |
| ὕψηλόν ποιέω     | <i>hgbyh</i>  | (Prv 17,19)     | ὕψηλός    | <i>gbh</i>   |

(β) The adj./adv. is not used in the LXX to render the same Hebrew root:

|                  |              |            |
|------------------|--------------|------------|
| ἄτοπα ποιέω      | <i>hršy'</i> | (Jb 34,12) |
| εὐλαβῇ ποιέω     | <i>hzyr</i>  | (Lv 15,31) |
| κατάκοπον ποιέω  | <i>hl'h</i>  | (Jb 16,7)  |
| κενὸν ποιέω      | <i>hhsyr</i> | (Is 32,6)  |
| πλεοναστὸν ποιέω | <i>hrbh</i>  | (Dt 30,5)  |

(b) ποιέω + verb

|                  |              |                  |            |            |
|------------------|--------------|------------------|------------|------------|
| ἀλγεῖν ποιέω     | <i>hk'yb</i> | (Jb 5,18)        | ἀλγέω      | <i>k'b</i> |
| ποιέω ἁμαρτάνειν | <i>hhty'</i> | (Is 29,21)       | ἁμαρτάνω   | <i>ht'</i> |
| ποιέω εἰσελθεῖν  | <i>hby'</i>  | (Jb 14,3)        | εἰσερχομαι | <i>b</i>   |
| πατῆσαι ποιέω    | <i>hdryk</i> | (Is 42,16)       | πατέω      | <i>drk</i> |
| πεποιθέναι ποιέω | <i>hbtyh</i> | (Jer 28[35], 15) | πέποιθα    | <i>bth</i> |
| ποιέω συμβῆναι   | <i>hqrh</i>  | (Jer 32[39], 23) | συμβαίνω   | <i>qrh</i> |
| ποιέω ψηλαφῆσαι  | <i>hmyš</i>  | (Jgs 16,26A)     | ψηλαφάω    | <i>mwš</i> |

(c) ποιέω + noun

|               |              |            |         |              |
|---------------|--------------|------------|---------|--------------|
| ἄφεσιν ποιέω  | <i>hšmyt</i> | (Ex 23,11) | ἄφεσις  | <i>šmyth</i> |
| ἐκβολὴν ποιέω | <i>htyl</i>  | (Jon 1,5)  | ἐκβάλλω | <i>htyl</i>  |
|               |              |            |         | (ib., v. 12) |

See further:

|                     |             |              |           |
|---------------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|
| καθαρισμὸν... ποιέω |             | <i>h'byr</i> | (Jb 7,21) |
| παραπετάσματα ποιέω |             | <i>htth</i>  | (Am 2,8)  |
| σισόην ποιέω        | <i>hqyp</i> | (Lv 19,27)   |           |

## (d) compound verbs (-ποιέω)

|              |              |                 |   |
|--------------|--------------|-----------------|---|
| ἀγαθοποιέω * | <i>hytyb</i> | (Nm 10,32)      | cf. ἀγαθὸν ποίεω, ποίεω...                  |
| κακοποιέω    | <i>hr'</i>   | (Gn 31,7)       | ἀγαθὸν / ἀγαθὰ ( <i>passim</i> )            |
| τεκνοποιέω   | <i>hwlyd</i> | (Jer 29[36], 6) | cf. ποίεω... κακὸν / κακά ( <i>passim</i> ) |

## (2) Other verbs

## (a) verb + noun

|                   |              |             |           |                    |
|-------------------|--------------|-------------|-----------|--------------------|
| ἀνάπαυσιν δίδωμι  | <i>hnyh</i>  | (Is 28,2)   | ἀνάπαυσις | <i>mnwḥ, mnwḥh</i> |
| προσδοκίαν δίδωμι | <i>hsbyr</i> | (Is 66,9)   | προσδοκία | <i>sbr</i>         |
| ζωὴν δίδωμι       | <i>hhyh</i>  | (Is 57,15)  | ζωή       | <i>hyyim</i>       |
| σπάνιον εἰσάγω    | <i>hgyr</i>  | (Prv 25,17) |           |                    |
| ἀγῶνα παρέχω      | <i>hl' h</i> | (Is 7,13)   |           |                    |
| ἐπάγω ὑετόν       | <i>hmtyr</i> | (Gn 7,4)    | ὑετός     | <i>mṭr</i>         |
| καθαράν τίθημι    | <i>hqyn</i>  | (Jb 11,13)  |           |                    |

## (b) Verb + prep. + noun

|                       |              |              |               |            |
|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|------------|
| πρὸς χάριν ἐμβάλλω    | <i>hhlyq</i> | (Prv 7,5)    | τὰ πρὸς χάριν | <i>hlq</i> |
| εἰς βασιλέα καθίστημι | <i>hmlyk</i> | (2 Chr 36,1) | βασιλεύς      | <i>mlk</i> |
| εἰς βασιλέα κρίω      | <i>hmlyk</i> | (1 Sm 11,15) | βασιλεύς      | <i>mlk</i> |

## (c) Verb + adj./adv.

|                  |              |                 |         |              |
|------------------|--------------|-----------------|---------|--------------|
| μακράν ἀπέχω     | <i>hrhyq</i> | (Gn 44,4)       | μακράν  | <i>rhwy</i>  |
| ἄξιον ἀποβαίνω   | <i>hsh</i>   | (Jb 11,6)       |         |              |
| δίκαιον ἀποφαίνω | <i>hsdyq</i> | (Jb 27,5; 32,2) | δίκαιος | <i>sydyq</i> |
| δίκαιον κρίνω    | <i>hsdyq</i> | (Prv 17,15)     |         |              |
| τίθημι εἶναι     |              |                 |         |              |
| ἀσεβῆ            | <i>hršy'</i> | (Jb 32,3)       |         |              |
| ἀναιδῶς          |              |                 |         |              |
| ὑφίσταμαι        | <i>h' z</i>  | (Prv 21,29)     |         |              |

## (d) Verb + verb

|                  |              |                 |             |              |
|------------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|
| ἀσεβεῖν διδάσκω  | <i>hršy'</i> | (Jb 10,2)       | ἀσεβέω      | <i>rš'</i>   |
| δίδωμι φυλάσσειν | <i>hpqyd</i> | (Jer 36[43],20) | πεφυλαγμένα | <i>pqawn</i> |
| ταπεινώσας       |              |                 |             |              |
| κατάγω           | <i>hsh</i>   | (Is 26,5)       | ταπεινός    | <i>hsh</i>   |
| φημί τινα        |              |                 |             |              |
| ψευδῇ λέγειν     | <i>hkzyb</i> | (Jb 24,25)      | ψεῦδος      | <i>kzb</i>   |

## IV. Reversal of the causative action

The causative action expressed by the *hiph'il* was sometimes reversed in the translation<sup>(10)</sup>:

<sup>(10)</sup> Cf. C. RABIN, "The Ancient Versions and the Indefinite Subject", *Textus* 2 (1962) 60-70.

Is 39,4 *l'hyh dbr 'šr l' hr'yt'm b'wšrty*  
καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου ὃ οὐκ εἶδοσαν (cf. the parallel  
stich)

Is 43,26 *hzyrny nšpřh yhd*  
σὺ δὲ μνήσθητι καὶ κριθῶμεν

Is 49,26 *wh'klty 't mwnyk 't bšrm*  
καὶ φάγονται οἱ θλίψαντές σε τὰς σάρκας αὐτῶν.

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## RECENSIONES

### Scripta intertestamentalia

1. Max KÜCHLER, *Frühjüdische Weisheitstraditionen*. Zum Fortgang weisheitlichen Denkens im Bereich des frühjüdischen Jahwenglaubens (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 26). 703 S. Freiburg — Göttingen 1979. Universitätsverlag — Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
2. David Winston SUTER, *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Henoch* (SBL Dissertation Series 47). XLV-236 p. 21,4 × 13,7. Missoula, MT 1979. Scholars Press.
3. Lars HARTMAN, *Asking for a Meaning*. A Study of Henoch 1–5 (Coniectanea Biblica, NT Series 12). 191 p. 23,4 × 15,5. Lund 1979. CWG Gleerup.

1. The author has produced in this revision of his doctoral thesis (University of Fribourg, 1979) a survey of some three hundred and fifty years (c. 200 B.C. – 135 A. D.). Making use of much of the recent work on the many sources dealt with, the book succeeds in being extremely informative, though it casts a net a bit too large to bring *everything* into comprehensible synthesis.

In the historical period under examination Wisdom, understood as a combination of both theory and practice, took two principal forms: that which related Torah to Wisdom, and that which placed Wisdom within the framework of Apocalyptic expectations. The author deals with both these forms in his first chapter, adding to his examination of the Apocalyptic tradition a separate treatment of the Qumran material.

The following four chapters are based upon the various literary productions of the period. The picture given of Israel's great sages in the writings of exegetes, historians, poets, and storytellers is the theme of Chapter Two. An extremely lengthy discussion of proverbial, or oracular, Wisdom and its extant sources follows, to which is thematically annexed, in Chapter Four, the whole question of Israel's relation to the international Wisdom-tradition attaching to the name of Aḥikar. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* have a chapter to themselves, and here the author, making use of the groundwork provided by J. Becker, attempts to organize the moral doctrine of this diffuse, difficult and controversial document.

The last and sixth chapter briefly sums up what has preceded and undertakes a discussion of one last form of Jewish Wisdom-tradition: the Chris-

tian. A general treatment of this is directly followed by some closing comments on the relation of the Wisdom-tradition to the person of Jesus Himself.

A reading of Chapter Three in the light of all that is given in Chapter One is enlightening and worthwhile; but, as already remarked, the book suffers from the amount of material it wishes to bring together and, excepting the one instance mentioned, those interested in this historical phase of Wisdom-tradition in Israel can rely on the study's contributions to *individual* aspects of its gigantic theme rather than on its unified overview.

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2. Chapters Thirty-seven through Seventy-one of *I (Ethiopic) Enoch* have long been considered a unit and given the collective title *Parables of Enoch*. Doubtless also distinct in origin from the rest of *I Enoch*, the *Parables* present a set of notoriously knotty problems. This doctoral study, submitted at the University of Chicago in 1976, constitutes an interesting, often fascinating, approach both to the segments it attempts to analyze and to the *Parables* as a whole.

Part I, employing literary-critical methods, aims at some answer to the problem of the *Parables'* provenance, and concludes by strongly asserting the possibility that the work came from a tradition isolated in some unknown degree from that which produced the rest of *I Enoch* — a conclusion supported by the study's later demonstration of the fact that the treatment of the myth of fallen angels found in *I Enoch* 6-11 differs from its treatment in the *Parables*. A date is incidentally suggested (p. 32) for the completion of the *Parables* — between 25 B.C. and 70 A.D., the author indicating a preference for an earlier over a later time.

The author's attention focuses in Part II on two specific passages: one from the Second Parable (54,1-56,4) and the other from the Third (64,1-69,12). Both of these passages deal with the theme of fallen angels, and both contain, in the author's phrase, a Midrash on Isaiah 24,17-23. In the first instance, the Midrash constitutes the entire passage; in the second, it occupies only 64,1-68,1 and is thereafter supplemented by two Angel Lists (69,2-3 and 4-12). The whole of Part II is taken up with establishing, by means of form-critical methods, the Isaian "Midrash" and the "Angel Lists" as true literary/traditional *Gestalten*, and with the subsequent discussion of their character and origin.

In the final and most interesting portion of his study, Suter attempts, now in the framework of redaction-criticism, to draw conclusions from his assertions made in Part II. Chapter VI studies the Isaian Midrash within the contexts of the Second and Third Parables, concluding that the Midrash is an integral part of the traditional material used in the *Parables*, and that the work's central theological concern is theodicy "as it relates to the problem of a king who claims to be a god." Chapter VII sets out to make a basic case: the origin in *oral tradition* of the three-parable collection which is the basis of the *Parables* and which doubtless was originally independent of any association with Enoch and his legend. Thus, the individual "parable"

becomes a type of "mashal" — a somewhat loosely constructed series of related themes (or commentaries and expansions of themes) each of which has a character of its own and, perhaps, a discernable provenance. In this way also, the author has room to discuss the role of oral tradition in Judaism of the Hellenistic period, and the methods whereby the *Parables* as they once were became transformed, by editorial materials, into the Enochian Pseudepigraphon at our disposal. The final Chapter sees the myth of the fallen angels as important for the study of Apocalyptic in two ways: first of all, to parallel the punishment of angels with that of the kings and mighty of the earth provides an important element in the cosmic dimension of an eschatology which presupposes a profound alienation from history as a sphere wherein a people can control its own destiny; secondly, the use the *Parables* make of midrash as a type of hermeneutic is characteristic of a stage of development in which a society turns and reinterprets its ancient traditions, thus assuring a needed continuity on both social and religious levels.

As was initially remarked, this study is often fascinating, and this not least because of the clear contrast of methods employed in each of its three parts. The application of redaction-criticism in Part III, however, serves to admit a certain amount of fresh air into an area still much affected by the staleness of too exclusive application of literary criticism. If Chapter VII is regarded as a collection of working hypotheses, their application to future study of the text of the *Parables* cannot help but be promising.

\* \* \*

3. This highly cerebral treatment of Ch. I-V of *I (Ethiopic) Enoch* (23 verses) is overly long and somewhat tedious.

In his Introduction, Hartman asks the basic question: what did this text mean to its first receivers (p. 9). Qualifications follow (pp. 9-10). We are told that an author's thought is, and therefore doubtless can be, altered by a redactor. Presumably this means that taking the text as it stands, we can readily admit that the *real* author *really* meant something either slightly or totally different. Thereupon, Hartman goes so far as to want to assume an "ideal reader" who is in the enviable position of circumventing any intermediary's obfuscations, and of arriving directly and unerringly at the true author's thoughts and meaning.

At this juncture, the reviewer feels justified in supplying some facts regarding *I Enoch* I-V. R. H. Charles considered this portion of the text to be extraneous to what follows (i.e., VI-XXXVI), and to date from a time subsequent to the composition of *all* the rest of *I Enoch*. Qumran evidence has proved him wrong on both scores. *I Enoch* 1,1-2 contains a title, an introductory formula, and Enoch's first words. Thereafter, 1,3-9 is the prediction of a theophany, and the rest is a denouncement, the first part of which (2,1-5,3) details nature's obedience to God's laws, while the second (5/4-9) dwells on the cursed wicked and the blessed righteous. All this is now universally accepted as direct prologue to *I Enoch* VI-XXXVI.

The author tells us that his Chapter I "deals with some aspects of the literary surface of the text." This indeed is done, but the reviewer considers

the presentation of these superficial aspects more puzzling than enlightening. Chapter II intends to descend "a bit below the literary surface." Hartman in fact produces a number of OT citations of which the author of *I Enoch* I-V obviously (or probably) made use in structuring his text. Chapter III aims at placing both "Theophany" and "Denouncement" into preexisting literary context. This too would be more useful if clearer. Chapter IV looks to the text (Chapter II) and the contexts (Chapter III) already discussed, and wants to ask the question: what situation contemporary with the composition of *I Enoch* I-V gave rise to a work distilled from all this? The author maintains that the Jewish calendar gives a clue to the answer.

It is in Chapter V that most of what Hartman has had to say bears fruit. He makes two points worth noting and at once. The so-called mytho-poetic language of *I Enoch* I-V (and of much other apocalyptic literature) is to be taken seriously, the effort being made to try to establish what such language told its addressees. Secondly, the Covenant, as well as the liturgy recalling it, are important as "referential background" for understanding these initial chapters of *I Enoch*.

Within the ambit of this same chapter the author discusses the principal features of his text's message (pp. 125-138). This entire matter is handled in two stages: some background in terms of general ideas; more specific themes. The general ideas are the following: the text as a whole is presented as a blessing; the persons involved are all related to the Covenant; despite God's different relations to various persons, the text remains a blessing of the righteous; contrasts abound (e.g., sinners contrasted to both the righteous and to nature; divine majesty stands out against the created world). Against this background Hartman then discusses at some length the person of Enoch, the centrality of the person and actions of God, and the way in which the respective fates of the righteous and the wicked are made to enter the argument.

Chapter V ends with a relatively short discussion of how these first chapters of *I Enoch* provide an appropriate introduction to *I Enoch* VI-XXXVI (*The Book of Watchers*). The table on pp. 140-141 is a useful, if incomplete, summary of what can be said. The author's Epilogue emphasizes the limitations of his study and makes some suggestion regarding the relevance of the study to New Testament exegesis.

This book is difficult to read, but when it does repay the effort to do so, the return is not minimal.

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## Novum Testamentum

Roland MEYNET, *Quelle est donc cette parole? Lecture «rhétorique» de l'évangile de Luc (1—9, 22—24)*. Tome I, 212 pp. 21,5 × 13,5 cm; Tome II: Planches (Lectio divina 99 A et 99 B), Paris 1979. Le Cerf.

Dans un style alerte et direct, ce volume présente à la fois le cheminement d'une recherche et les résultats obtenus. Il est intéressant à ce double titre. Docteur en linguistique, l'auteur excelle à introduire le lecteur dans la problématique d'une analyse de la composition d'un texte. Le premier chapitre est consacré aux «questions de méthode», mais celles-ci sont traitées à partir d'observations concrètes: l'A. a remarqué la récurrence, dans certaines sections de Luc, des notations concernant la double activité de Jésus (enseignement et guérisons); il a observé, d'autre part, la fréquence des questions portant sur l'identité de Jésus. Il montre comment ces constatations lui ont suggéré un «modèle paradigmatique», hypothèse de travail dont une recherche ultérieure a révélé la fécondité. D'autres observations ont suggéré un «modèle syntagmatique», la construction en chiasme des diverses sections du texte. D'utiles distinctions sont faites entre chiasme stylistique, qui ne dépasse pas le niveau de la phrase, et chiasme «rhétorique», qui sert à structurer une unité littéraire plus ample. Ce dernier peut être «lexical», obtenu grâce à des rapports de mots, ou «de discours», obtenu grâce à des rapports entre éléments de récit. Le ch. III reprend plus en détail cette question du chiasme, définissant la «spécificité du chiasme rhétorique biblique» et rappelant l'histoire de sa découverte. En plus de ces deux «modèles», l'A. en propose un troisième, «la reprise du schéma d'un texte de l'Ancien Testament», et il ajoute encore d'autres critères. Il a en effet la sagesse de souligner que «un seul indice est toujours insuffisant pour établir la présomption d'une structure rhétorique» et que «la convergence des indices et leur cohérence à plusieurs niveaux à la fois est certainement le meilleur garant de leur validité» (p. 62).

Les ch. II, IV et V présentent les résultats de la recherche faite sur l'évangile de Luc, en commençant par la section 4,14—9,50 pour continuer par le début de l'évangile (1,5—4,13) et terminer par «les quatre dernières unités» (de 22,1 à 24,53). A vrai dire, ces chapitres n'apportent, à propos de chaque unité, qu'une sorte de synthèse exégétique; celle-ci est d'ailleurs, en règle générale, substantielle et pénétrante. Pour l'étude proprement dite de la composition du texte, il faut se reporter aux planches, imprimées à part; celles-ci donnent une présentation vraiment structurelle de chaque unité; des explications techniques les accompagnent; on les trouve chaque fois au dos de la planche précédente, de sorte qu'il est toujours possible d'avoir en même temps sous les yeux la présentation structurelle et son explication.

Ces planches constituent de vraies prouesses typographiques, qui méritent de grands éloges. Elles utilisent sans désordre de multiples procédés (variation du format et du genre des caractères, encadrements, variation des marges

etc.) pour mettre en relief divers éléments du texte et leur organisation dans un schéma d'ensemble. Elles représentent évidemment une somme énorme de travail. Elles sont très utiles au lecteur.

Par des caractères gras, l'A. souligne régulièrement les phrases qui correspondent à son «modèle paradigmatique», c'est-à-dire celles qui expriment, le plus souvent à propos de Jésus, la question de l'identité. Sa démonstration sur ce point me paraît convaincante: Luc insiste continuellement sur cette question, ce qui donne à ses récits une orientation particulière.

Plus contestable est le recours continu au «modèle syntagmatique» du chiasme. L'A. aurait dû, me semble-t-il, montrer plus de rigueur critique envers son hypothèse de travail. Pourquoi vouloir que Luc s'en tienne toujours au même genre de schéma? Dans son ouvrage sur le chiasme, Lund a observé une loi de variation: les auteurs bibliques ne suivent pas exclusivement un seul genre de disposition symétrique; ils mêlent d'ordinaire chiasme et simple parallélisme. De fait, en plus d'un cas, les chiasmes proposés pour les unités de Lc paraissent forcés; un parallélisme simple correspondrait mieux aux données du texte. Le schéma de Lc 1,26-56 par exemple considère la réponse de Marie (1,38) comme l'élément central d'un chiasme, ce qui ne s'accorde pas avec sa fonction évidente d'élément final du récit de l'Annonciation et conduit à ignorer le parallélisme entre 1,38a («Marie dit... la servante du seigneur...») et 1,46-48 («Marie dit... le Seigneur... sa servante...»), ainsi qu'entre 1,38b («selon ta parole...») et 1,55 («selon qu'il a dit...»). On peut contester d'autre part l'importance primordiale attribuée constamment à l'élément central de chaque unité: une phrase qui vient en conclusion peut avoir une portée plus décisive qu'une phrase centrale.

Les schémas proposés n'emportent donc pas toujours l'adhésion. Le fait même que la recherche ne se soit pas étendue à la totalité de l'évangile laisse le lecteur insatisfait. Mais le travail effectué n'en reste pas moins intéressant et stimulant, tant pour l'initiation qu'il donne à une méthode que pour la lumière nouvelle qu'il jette sur l'évangile de Luc.

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Joachim JEREMIAS, *Die Sprache des Lukasevangeliums. Redaktion und Tradition im Nicht-Markusstoff des dritten Evangeliums. (KeK Sonderband)*. 324 p. 24,5 × 17,5. Göttingen 1980. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

This posthumous study of Luke's language was done in preparation for Jeremias's commentary on Luke in the Meyer series. As he had maintained

against J. Sanders (ZNW 62 [1971] 172-191), J. found it methodologically inadequate to take as Lukan redaction words and idioms which simply occurred more frequently in Luke-Acts than in other NT works. A further step was necessary — the investigation of whether such frequency comes from his traditions or from Luke's own theological interests. Indeed, Luke's language offered a unique opportunity, for we can find Lukan usage by its divergence from his sources not only in the gospel but also in Acts, and apply that usage to separate tradition from redaction even in passages where no source is recognizable.

Since J.'s interest lay in Luke's theology, he does not try to reconstruct Lk's sources. The only source critical hypothesis underlying this study is that Luke used Mark as a source. The only hypothesis for Lukan composition is that he alternated blocks of Markan material with blocks of other traditions, and this hypothesis is independent of any proto-Lk hypothesis. J. takes non-Markan blocks to be Luke 1,5-4,30; 5,1-11; 6,20-8,3; 9,51-18,14; 19,1-27.39-44; 21,34-38; 22,14-24,53. He maintains that even those who hold for a dominant or exclusive influence of a Markan passion narrative on Luke's passion account must at least recognize that Luke's correcting, reordering, and supplementing of this material is markedly different from his use of the source in the so-called Markan blocks, and so he justifies its treatment in these non-Markan blocks.

Methodologically, J. begins with three cautions. Sometimes Luke's redactional preferences coincide with one of his sources' (e.g. the active sense of πιστός is not only Lukan usage, but also that of missionary sources, as in Acts 10,45; 16,1.15). Further, a traditional expression can lie in the middle of a Lukan redactional passage, and a Lukan redactional touch in the midst of traditional material. Finally, he warns that none of the criteria for traditional or non-Lukan usage which he and Rehkopf had developed in 1959 (*Die lukanische Sonderquelle*) can by itself be decisive. He lists these criteria: A word, word-group, or syntactical construction is traditional or non-Lukan usage when it 1) seldom or never is used independently by Luke; 2) is extensively or always avoided in Markan material; 3) stands over against a preferred Lukan expression with the same or similar content; 4) clearly manifests a semitic language provenance; 5) occurs exclusively in the non-Markan material of Luke; 6) can be shown in the rest of the NT to be the community's coinage. Finally, literal agreement of Matt and Luke manifests tradition.

J.'s general conclusions: 1) the "Christmas narrative" manifests a particularly strong Lukan redactional influence; 2) the Lukan passion narrative increasingly seems to be a tradition separate from that of Mk; 3) Luke's reworking of tradition is considerably less extensive than is generally assumed, consisting mostly of stylistic improvements (even of the LXX), mostly in the settings of pericopae. Like Schürmann, J. finds Luke reluctant to alter the traditional words of Jesus himself.

The book contains many valuable insights into Lukan redactional style. At times J. simply documents Cadbury's previous findings, e.g. the avoidance of antithetical parallelism, anacolouthon, and asyndeton. At others he analyzes constructions until he can classify different expressions which

Cadbury collected under one rubric, *e.g.* ἐγένετο δέ (so that ἐγένετο δέ + time + finite verb is used in Luke, but in Ac ἐγένετο δέ + time + infinitive, as more usual for Greek ears). Finally there are identifications of Lukan style which I had not previously seen, *e.g.* the avoidance of the *figura etymologica* (Greek accusative), use of predicative participles after ἀκούω and εὐρίσκω, etc. J. notes the well-known favorite Lukan words and semiticisms, but he makes some surprising subtractions from Lukan redactional theology, as when σήμερον with eschatological meaning, avoidance of ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, theological use of δεῖ, etc. are ascribed to Luke's non-Markan sources. J.'s work on Lukan redactional usage seems the least problematic part of the book.

Still, there are problems. J. assigns the adjectives in ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος (Luke 23,50) to a source because they constitute a semitic word pair, and because δίκαιος is redolent of Palestinian piety. However such pairs occur in what Danker calls "chancery prose" in the hellenistic papyri, even with δίκαιος. Such hellenistic usage (documented by Danker in *CBQ* 43 [1981] 469) makes one cautious about mechanical rejection of word pairs, perhaps even in "Jewish canticles" like the *Benedictus*. Secondly, the scholar will not expect J.'s Lukan usage, limited as it is to the non-Markan material, to be a complete description of Lukan redactional style. Cadbury showed that the genitive absolute is a characteristic Lukan improvement of Markan material. Therefore one would not necessarily expect this usage to appear in the present study. Still, there are genitive absolutes in the non-Markan material (12,36; 15,20; 17,12), and twice J. studies as non-Markan material sentences containing genitive absolutes which Cadbury had considered Markan (3,21; 22,53). In all five instances J. failed to note or comment on the genitive absolute.

But when we come to the purpose of the book, the separation of tradition from redaction, its real weaknesses surface. Let us begin with J.'s methodological hypothesis. First he affirms that Luke used sources in Ac, and separating his redaction from these traditions provides an opportunity to judge Lukan style even when there are no discernable sources (p. 6). Yet in his treatment of Acts, except for the few occasions when he ascribes a Lukan phrase to Christian mission formulae (*e.g.* τὰ ῥήματα meaning the kerygma in Acts 2,14; 5,20; 10,22.44; 11,14), there is no source criticism in Ac to justify the hypothesis. J. simply treats Lukan usage in Ac as manifestations of his redactional style. Secondly, this perhaps understandable neglect of sources in Ac seems to extend inexplicably to the gospel. J. states that he does not want to overburden his analysis with hypothetical sources, and so he begins with the single source hypothesis: Luke used Mark. Still, hidden at the end of his criteria for traditional language in Luke he states, "Über-einstimmungen im Wortlaut bei Matthäus und Lukas sind im allgemeinen der Tradition zuzuschreiben" (p. 8). Even if J. is trying to remain neutral about whether this agreement is due to Q or Matt in the Farrer or Griesbach-Farmer hypothesis, he really assumes a considerable amount of material alongside of Mk which bears the marks of a source. To learn Luke's tendencies against his sources, the first step after analyzing Lukan redactional method in the Markan material should be to take up these passages in which

influence of a second source is visible. Then, having seen Lukan redaction in two separate sources J. could with more confidence take up the 500 *plus* verses of so-called *Sondergut*. But this is not what J. does. He treats all non-Markan material together, refusing to see that agreements in Matt/Luke constitute a definable block of material. He thus loses the opportunity to separate redaction from tradition, especially in the words of Jesus. I believe this omission is not an oversight, but reveals the basic hypothesis in J.'s work: wherever the evangelists work with the Jesus traditions, they are working out of a source. Whether or not this *lapsus methodi* constitutes a *petitio principii*, it at least casts considerable doubt on the validity of J.'s methods in separating tradition from redaction.

This lack of methodical approach through the sources throws more importance on the criteria for traditional language. Of the seven given, the first two and last are the most accepted, surest, and the first ones that J. applies (and well!) in any analysis. Criterion 3, "an expression that stands over against a preferred Lukan expression with the same or similar content is to be ascribed to tradition"; however true it might be in general, can always admit of exceptions and carries the danger of being pressed too far. Writers do have a standard vocabulary and style. But they sometimes consciously or unconsciously use phrases from outside of this store, not because they are following a written source, but for reasons of fashion, variety, aesthetics, exactitude, etc. When Luke is writing, how can we know that the rare expression is not consciously chosen? We might add at least three qualifiers to J.'s criterion: 1) there must be enough data base to judge normal use; 2) there must be other evidences of a source in the pericope; 3) there must be some sense of the identity of that source in order to afford a plausibility structure for this particular expression. Now often J. does not have enough frequency of usage to apply his criterion. On p. 103f. he indicates that Luke-Acts uses βίβλος 4x and βιβλίον 3x. Since Luke used βίβλος in Ac and in his redaction of Mark (Luke 20,42), βιβλίον must be ascribed to a source. This is clearly too small a frequency of usage to establish a favorite Lukan expression. Further, βιβλίον in Luke 4,17a.b.20 has a technical meaning — the physical scroll itself (a usage confirmed by Heb 9,19) — and so there is good reason to think this could be deliberate choice of the exact word by Luke. The same kind of mechanical application of this tenuous criterion occurs on p. 29, where κατὰ τὸ εἰθισμένον must be ascribed to a source because there are two alternative expressions (used five times) in Luke-Acts. In what kind of a source would such an expression occur? A similar expression occurs only once in Greek literature, in the papyri (κατὰ τὰ εἰθισμένα, BGU, 1073). No one has ever suggested a semitic base for it, and it is hard to see such a rare expression being used in oral tradition. What kind of source would use a rare hellenistic expression while describing Jesus' parents presenting him in the temple according to the prescriptions of the law (2,27)? What are other resonances of late hellenistic usage in 2,22-35? Does this same source elsewhere combine OT legal backgrounds and late hellenistic expression? Or are we not rather to ascribe the expression to the same Luke who seems to have confused the requirements of the law for purification of the mother with those for presentation of the

first born? Only with such qualifiers can criterion 3 really be useful in separating tradition from redaction. Unfortunately J. regularly uses this criterion on too small a data base.

I have similar problems with criteria 5 and 6. On p. 109 J. indicates that since συκοφαντεῖν occurs only in Lukan *Sondergut* (2x), it must be traditional. The implied argument that Luke should have worked as technical a word as συκοφαντεῖν into his Markan source or Ac if it was really part of his conscious vocabulary strikes me as gratuitous at best. Or once one admits that Luke uses a range of septuagintalsms where does one begin to know that a semitic expression belongs to a source? The content and context of Acts 11,19-26 seem more likely to make χεῖρ κυρίου in 11,21 a piece of Lukan septuagintal style than a phrase from a source (p. 72).

These are some of my specific problems with J.'s treatment of Luke's sources. In the final analysis, I cannot conceive of any source criticism of the non-Markan materials in Lk being methodologically controllable without the critic at the end of his work giving some basic reconstruction of the character and extent of the sources discovered. This is not to ask for a verbal reconstruction of Q or any other sources, but for something that will provide a plausibility structure for an assignment of a phrase to a source. This would *not*, as J. seems to fear, overload the work with presuppositions, since such reconstruction would come at the end of the work, as a check on it and the completion of the methodological circle. This was the procedure followed by the great source critics of the past. Obviously it requires enormous work. But if the redaction critic's aspiration of separating tradition from redaction in the non-Markan material of Luke is not to remain an *ignis fatuus*, something like this has to be done. (This is not to deny, or even consider less preferable, a reconception of redaction criticism without source criticism, such as J. Tyson suggests in J. Talbert (ed.), *Perspectives on Luke-Acts* [Edinburgh 1978] 38f).

J.'s book, for its close grammatical and syntactical analysis of Lukan redactional style, deserves its place next to Cadbury on the critic's shelf. But in its method for separating the Lukan redaction from tradition, it has set its sights too low and fallen far short of its goal.

*Kudos* to the publishers for an almost error-free printing in three fonts.

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G. SCHNEIDER, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 5) Vol. 1. 520 p. Freiburg 1980.

G. Schneider presents a scholarly Catholic commentary on the Acts of the Apostles. In this first volume of a proposed two-volume work, Schneider provides the reader with extensive bibliography, a good general introduction, and an explanation of the first eight chapters of the Acts of the Apostles plus 10 excursuses on Lukan themes and problems. This first volume ends with two appendices: Greek vocabulary and ancient (Greek, Roman, and Jewish) authors. Significantly, Schneider regards a commentary not as an opportunity to propose new theories but to provide the most extensive possible consideration of the present research.

Schneider has certainly written a respectable work of scholarship, while frankly admitting the difficulties. His bibliography and some of his excursuses (e.g. pp. 176-179) will be extremely useful to scholars.

The commentary does have certain weaknesses. Like most German-speaking scholars, Schneider has devoted a disproportionately large amount of his space interacting with other scholars who write in German. He has listed most of the non-German literature, as his bibliography well attests, but whether he has read them and evaluated their arguments can be questioned. Two examples: D. Mínguez has proposed two convincing structures for pericopes in Acts: one for Pentecost (*Pentecostés: Ensayo de Semiótica narrativa en Hch 2* [Rome 1972] 29-70) and another for Acts 8,25-40 ("Hechos 8,25-40. Análisis estructural del relato", *Bib* 57 [1976] 168-191). Although Schneider refers to these publications, he makes no mention, favorable or not, of these structures. Secondly, in the excursus on "Pentecost and the Holy Spirit" (pp. 256-260), a good half of the bibliography presented is in English. But in the excursus, Schneider refers to only one of these English titles. This tendency of German-speaking scholars to interact with one another does not only characterize Schneider (who by comparison really does quite well); but, unfortunately, it has begun to dominate this whole area of biblical research. This tendency diminishes the respect given to German scholarship. It need not be irreversible.

Schneider, although well aware of the limitations of source criticism and careful to present the history of the interpretation of a given passage, nevertheless, remains strongly attracted by the siren of source criticism. This despite the fact that source criticism has provided little insight into the message of Acts. The reader is not well served if led to hope for much from source critical studies of Acts. Schneider has also given considerable attention to text criticism. This would surely be justifiable if it provided insights into Luke's meaning but frequently the results are only listings of readings which everyone holds to be secondary. Also, Schneider mentions the possibility of an editor who reworked the Acts of the Apostles, and although he does not seem to accept this contention, he does not always take a clear stand on the point. His reader has the right to know that the arguments for such an editor are almost non-existent.

Schneider's excursus on the interesting problem of the relationship between Luke and Paul does not appear entirely accurate. Distance in space and time does not explain why Luke does not give us Paul's theology. Nor will it do to claim that Luke concentrates on the *activity* not the *preaching* of Paul. Luke's failure to designate Paul an "apostle" does belie his being a companion of Paul. Furthermore, as Schneider states, Luke may have known that Paul spoke of justification, but Paul definitely does not hold with Luke that the law in some way justified a Jew (Christian; cf. Acts 13,38). In view of Luke's lack of knowledge of details of Paul's life and of his letters and theology, it is most reasonable to postulate that Luke did not know Paul but belonged to a Pauline community or communities.

Schneider does not seem to give enough importance to Acts 1-5 as a picture of the ideal Christian community. Here, Schneider should have paid more attention to J. Schmitt ("L'Eglise de Jérusalem ou la restauration d'Israël", *RevScRel* 27 [1953] 209-218).

Schneider's excursus "On the Christology of the Acts of the Apostles" (pp. 331-335) proves unsatisfactory. Schneider has accepted H. Conzelmann's position that Jesus is the "middle of time", in opposition to the majority of scholars of Luke-Acts, who, with good reason, have not accepted this opinion. For one thing, it incorrectly separates the risen Christ from the life of the Church. Again to understand Luke's portrayal of Jesus it is important to answer the question: why has Luke drawn so many parallels between Jesus (esp. in the Gospel) and Jesus' disciples in the Acts of the Apostles? The best answer lies in Luke's desire to establish continuity between Christ and the Church, in fact, to show the risen Christ working through his disciples in the Church. Further, Luke's concept of "witness" relates closely with his Christology. Although Schneider admits that "witness" is a technical term for Luke, he does not sufficiently emphasize that this concept primarily designates one who has seen the resurrected Christ. Moreover, in Acts 1,21-22 Luke does not give the qualifications of a witness but of an apostle. The apostles are not primarily choosing a witness, a role which Judas never fulfilled, but an apostle.

The explanation Schneider gives for Acts 4,2 does not stand up under investigation. He maintains that the Sadducees did not accept a resurrection of the dead and so for this reason the sanhedrin opposes Peter and John. The difficulty with this explanation is the fact, of which Schneider himself is aware (p. 399, n. 119), that the Pharisees controlled the vote in the sanhedrin and they did hold for a resurrection. A more acceptable explanation of Acts 4,2 is that Peter and John are teaching in Jesus the resurrection of the dead, thus, a connection between Jesus' resurrection and the resurrection of anyone else (see my *Acts 26. The Christological Climax of Paul's Defense Ac 22:1-26:32* [Rome 1978] 113-114). Such an assertion the Pharisees would certainly have opposed.

Schneider's contention that Acts 6 begins a new section cannot be proved. Acts 6 & 7 are still located in Jerusalem; the move outside of Jerusalem comes only in Acts 8,1. It is not enough to point to the election of the seven one of whom, Philip, plays a major role in Acts 8. In this section, in the Stephen speech, Schneider pays little attention to the typology between



Moses and Jesus. This typology is too extensive not to merit more attention.

No one explanation of Luke's *Sitz im Leben* has satisfied scholars and it may well be necessary to speak of purposes rather than "a" purpose of composition. In view of Luke's mastery over his material, an investigation of his theology may be the best approach to determining his purpose. Schneider's modest description of the purpose of Acts (pp. 139-145) omits the following major and minor themes; Luke is an historian of *Heilsgeschichte* as were the writers of the LXX whom he imitates; as a pastoral theologian, he wants to nourish the faith of his readers; he writes of and defends a mission to the Gentiles (universality) and describes the growth of the word; the resurrected Christ remains active in Acts and through his followers continues to be the savior of the weak, downtrodden, and despised; notice of Jesus' resurrection dominates most of Acts as does the Spirit except in the latter chapters. In their practice of faith, Luke calls his readers to prayer and a right attitude toward riches. Also, the amount of space which Luke dedicates to stories of the persecution of Christians in Acts (4; 5,17-42; 6,1-8,4; 9,1-2.13-14.23-25.29-30; 11,19; 12,1-11; 13,44-51; 14,2.5-6.19.22; 16,19-40; 17,5-10.13; 18,6.12-17; 19,9.21-40; 20,23.29-30?; 21,11-14.27-28.30) leads to the conclusion that Luke wants to encourage the Christians who are being persecuted. Christ will be with them in their defense (Lk 21,15; cf. 21,12-19).

Although Schneider intends to present the state of present research, still a number of new developments and directions in Luke-Acts research have arisen that Schneider has not treated to any extent. Research in Acts has begun to be concerned about stories, story-telling, and composition (redaction) criticism. As the LXX relates stories of the salvation history of the Jewish people, so Luke relates those of the Christians. These stories should be studied for what they are: stories. A number of researchers now hesitate to speak of Luke as a redactor. Since he composed Luke-Acts in such a way that his sources cannot be detected, should one not consider him a composer rather than a redactor?

Structural analysis is being applied to the Acts of the Apostles, and in its present developmental stage has not won much acceptance among scholars. Its proponents have, perhaps, not sufficiently documented their acquaintance with the history of the interpretation of a passage to contrast it with whatever new insights they bring to the understanding of the passage. The methods, too, of structural analysis are cumbersome, and the usefulness of its results is not always evident. Nonetheless, once scholars have honed the application of structural analysis to the NT, the studies of Acts will certainly benefit.

Liberation theology has stimulated an interest in the application of the principles of sociology and social structures to the studies of Acts. Certainly, Luke was not a liberation theologian, but he surely demonstrates an interest in poverty and wealth. "A man's life does not consist in the abundance of his possessions" (Lk 12,15). Luke (16,19-31) condemns indifference to the poor. The parallels between Christ and his followers, among other things, portray Christians imitating Christ, the savior of the disadvantaged. In Acts, the Christians take full advantage of Roman polity, even as Paul uses every

available means to defend himself. Luke knows that Christian living leads to persecution, but he never encourages Christians to seek persecution. On the contrary, Christians should take advantage of what can be legally done to carry on the task of Christ. Yet Luke reports that Peter says, "We must obey God rather than men" (Acts 5,29; cf. 4,19-20). Luke approves of this activity (cf. Acts 5,38-39); but, in fact, the apostles are committing civil disobedience. The Jewish officials had police authority in Jerusalem. What mutual, beneficial understanding liberation theology and the study of Luke-Acts will provide for one another remains to be seen.

The above criticisms and observations on Schneider's *Apostelgeschichte* do not deny its considerable contribution to studies on the Acts of the Apostles. It takes its place among the better commentaries available.

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Franzjosef FROITZHEIM, *Christologie und Eschatologie bei Paulus* (Forschung zur Bibel 35). 283 p. Würzburg 1979. Echter Verlag.

This work was originally presented as a dissertation at the University of Freiburg. Its style has both the advantages and the disadvantages of a thesis. It is orderly and logical; at the same time, the text includes many sections in small print dealing with particular points of interpretation, as well as an over-abundance of footnotes. Thus the reader is presented with ample evidence of the writer's scholarly preparation, but faced with a difficult task in taking the work seriously as a whole. With such an apparatus of erudition, it is surprising that there is so little reference to French scholars; of the few listed in the bibliography, some are referred to in their German translations. A small number of English works appear in the bibliography, but the text is dominated by discussion of German scholars and of the difference between different German exegetical schools.

With this limitation, the work remains a valuable contribution to studies on Paul: its value lies precisely in bringing together two basic ideas, those of Christology and eschatology. This is done in four sections: Paul's development of earlier Christian eschatology; the place of the cross and of the resurrection in eschatological salvation; eschatological existence as sharing in the destiny of Jesus himself; finally, Paul's eschatology as determined by his presentation of the person and work of Jesus. The treatment is illustrated along the way by exegetical studies of 1 Cor 7,25-35; 1-4; 15,20-28.

The opening section makes a good and necessary distinction between the approach of Jewish apocalyptic and that of Paul to the eschata. As opposed

to the determinism of apocalyptic, Paul leaves God freedom of action; as opposed to its pessimism, Paul presents God as Saviour and Judge together. Thus although in both apocalyptic and Paul we have developments of the prophetic "Day of the Lord", Paul, despite apocalyptic terminology, is more faithful to the line of Old Testament prophecy (pp. 3-9).

The second section begins with a discussion of "The Cross of Jesus as the Eschatological Event." (pp. 29-78). A corresponding treatment of the resurrection of Jesus follows (pp. 78-144). This schematic division of cross and resurrection is necessary for an orderly discussion, but one may ask whether F. pushes the division too far. I, for one, cannot accept the view that Paul saw in Jesus one who, in his death, took our place in bearing God's wrath and judgement (p. 43, n. 80). Texts such as Gal 3,13; 2 Cor 5,21; Rom 8,3 can be given this meaning only if they are understood along the systematic line of one exegetical school. Such an interpretation does not seem to do justice to Paul's integral thought, his total understanding of death-resurrection summed up in Rom 4,25.

It is interesting to note that Schlier (to whose memory F. dedicates his book) presents quite a different interpretation of Rom 8,3 in his commentary on Romans (*Der Römerbrief*, pp. 239-243). He insists that God "condemned sin in the flesh" not merely through the cross of Jesus, but also through his resurrection. Unfortunately Schlier's commentary appeared too late to be consulted by F. Long; before this, Lyonnet (*Exegesis Epistulae ad Romanos, Cap. V ad VIII*, ed. altera, 1966, pp. 159-178) had offered a thorough study of Rom 8,3, taking into account not merely the text itself, but the Old Testament, the greater context of the New Testament and the Greek Fathers. He came to the conclusion that Jesus in his death was in no way the object of God's wrath, and that, in fact, God "condemned sin in the flesh" through the resurrection of Jesus as well as through his death. He cites Sanday-Headlam, Huby and Kuss as scholars who support this view.

This is not the place to discuss Rom 8,3 and similar Pauline texts more fully. But it should be noted that one's line of interpretation is of great importance for one's understanding of redemption, indeed, for one's image of God.

At the end of the second section of the work, there is an "Exegetische Probe" which offers a study of 1 Cor 15,20-28. F. maintains that in this text there is no question of a general resurrection from the dead: only believing Christians are envisaged (pp. 150-151). True, there are elements in the text which seem to point in this direction, e.g., 15,23b; but there are other considerations. First, Paul moves from the particular situation of Christians in 15,12-19 to a passage, apocalyptic in style, which is meant to be universal: note the monotonous repetition of "all". If in this universal picture believing Christians are the only people to be saved, then Paul's concept of salvation differs little from the pessimism of Jewish apocalyptic. Again, in the parallel between Adam and Christ in 15,21-22, it is more natural that the "all men" influenced by each of them should refer to the same group, that is, the total human race. That Paul could think more widely of eschatological salvation is indicated by Schlier's treatment of Rom 11,25.32 (*Der Römerbrief*, pp. 340, 344). So, in the light of texts such as Rom 11,25.32 and also

Rom 5,19, we may well ask whether οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ in 1 Cor 15,23 must be taken rigorously as those who expressly believe in Christ. As in the case of Rom 8,3, the interpretation of this text affects deeply how one understands Paul's view of redemption and of God's attitude to his creation, especially his creature, man.

All in all, F.'s work provides a worthwhile comprehensive study of an important subject.

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## Varia

Shaye J. D. COHEN, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome. His Vita and Development as a Historian* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition VIII). xvi-277 p. Leiden 1979. E. J. Brill.

This revision of a doctoral dissertation (presented at Columbia University in 1975) is concerned with that portion of his account of the Jewish rebellion against Rome in which Josephus himself took active part. The fruits of the detailed study are presented in the last two of the book's seven chapters. Chapter Six is an attempt "to determine the events in Galilee and Jerusalem during the first part of the war, 66-67 CE", admitting, at the same time, that "it is easy to destroy Josephus' account, but nearly impossible to construct a more truthful one". The final chapter briefly sums up Josephus' Roman years and the various motives and attitudes which shaped and governed the four works produced during that period of his life.

The principal texts around which the first five chapters revolve are *BJ* 2,277-3,408 and *Vita* 17-413, special attention being centered on that portion of *BJ* (i. e., 2,430-3,34) which is more or less paralleled by *Vita*. Chapter One discusses problems (and their possible solutions) arising from the way in which *BJ* and *Vita* tend to contradict one another. Since *BJ* was written before *Vita*, Chapter Two examines how Josephus employed or reproduced his sources in general, and how, in particular, *AJ* (Books 13-20) relates to the earlier *BJ* (Books 1-2). Progressing thence to the question of relating *Vita* to *BJ*, Chapter Three concludes that the "one text is not the direct source of the other" and that both may well be "reworkings of a common written source". The first three chapters have therefore reached the general conclusion that "the literary relationship of *BJ* to *V* is not entirely clear" (p. 84). The next two chapters, therefore, are historiographic inquiries into the aims and methods of *BJ* and *Vita* respectively, the latter study (Chapter Five)

being the lengthier and more important. "*BJ*", says the author, "explains why Josephus *stopped* fighting the Romans". But why did he start? "*V* attempts to provide the answer".

As already indicated, the details of the first five chapters form the basis and framework for the conclusions and speculations of the last two. The book closes (Appendix I) by concluding that non-Josephan sources for the early history of the rebellion do little or nothing more than confirm what is known from Josephus.

It is evident that three of Josephus' four surviving works (*BJ*, *AJ* and *Vita*) have been treated at some length in this book, and it is the author's contention that through the study of *Vita* (cf. especially Chapter Five) one achieves "a clearer picture of the aims and methods of his (Josephus') larger works". This may indeed be true for *BJ*, but one wonders whether *AJ* be adequately covered by the author's assertion. Given the fact that Josephus still remains our principal source for the period treated by this book, its detailed studies cannot help but contribute to our understanding of what is, for good or evil, an important document.

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ECKART OTTO, *Jakob in Sichem. Überlieferungsgeschichtliche, archäologische und territorialgeschichtliche Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte Israels: Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament VI/10* = 110. 319 S., 23 Abb. Stuttgart 1979. W. Kohlhammer. DM 69.

This volume begins with an analysis of the presumed components of Genesis 25 [to correct in Contents p. 7]; 27-33; and 35; the conclusion of p. 87 on the "vorquellenschriftliche Redaktion" [? "before the sources were reduced to writing" or ? "a written stage prior to the JE-sources"] is that the narratives concerning Bethel take precedence over those concerning Shechem.

Then follows a long "Historical Analysis of the History of the Jacob-Sippe", first in East-Jordan and West-Jordan in general, and then with a forty-page correlation to the excavations of Shechem Field VI by Wright in 1960, continuing Sellin's work of 1914-28. Page 144 concludes by rejecting the claim of a single continuing cult-center in Field VI through the MB2 levels 20 through 18; p. 145 adduces further proofs from the pottery; this complex was therefore a public building or Palace rather than a temple. The only relevance to Jacob is apparently that *his* attested sanctuary must have

been *outside* the excavated urban-area (p. 150), likelier the nearby Tananir than some shrine outside Shechem's city gate. Further reflections lead up to an insertion of Gn 34 into the investigated material; and the claim that not really the later substituted "Simeon and Levi" but rather Jacob's (larger) Sippe got a foothold in Shechem-area by conflict with the local inhabitants.

Another third of the book focuses the Leah-tribes Reuben and Simeon (Gn 34; 35; 49) and p. 199f relates their cities to those mentioned on the Menephtha stele. The "Israel" of that stele is really to be understood of Simeon and (adjacently in Transjordan) Reuben, whose catastrophic overthrow is somehow implicit in the biblical data. A briefer final chapter relates Manasseh to the shrines of Shechem and Bethel. There is an excellent bibliography of some 600 titles on pp. 261-289.

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THOMAS L. THOMPSON, *The Settlement of Palestine in the Bronze Age*: Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients [Hrsg. Wolfgang Röllig] (Reihe B [Geisteswissenschaften] 34). XIV-495 S. Wiesbaden 1979. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

"This volume continues the collation of Bronze Age Remains in the Levant begun with [TAVO B8] *The Settlement of Sinai and the Negev in the Bronze Age*, and presents the 'Site List' for Palestine" (p. XIII). It is therefore a Catalog, extending from p. 69 to 405 (about 6 to a page, therefore some 2000 sites not numbered). The sequence is by number, however (e. g. 1527.01) but not consecutive, followed in each case by what seem to be the Survey Grid coordinates ("P. g. 1598.2729"). This number is immediately followed by the Arabic or Hebrew name if one is known, and on p. 407-478 there is an Index to these names, referring back however only to the "2027.07"-type number which precedes each entry; and since those numbers are not consecutive, that poses problems. There is also an index by periods, first the whole Bronze Age undifferentiated on p. 479, then EB to 483, EB IV/MB I to p. 487, MB undifferentiated to p. 488, MB II to 491, MB/LB on 491, LB 492-5. For each site there is a concise description and bibliography.

This Catalog is preceded by a valuable 67-page "Regional Analysis of the Bronze Age Sites of Palestine". Each zone is treated in turn, and there is an interesting synthesis on p. 63. In no period of the Bronze Age is the whole of Palestine controlled by any combination of interlocking city-states. In-

fluence of the major tells is satisfactorily explained by their agricultural and economic potential. In the large number of EB sites appear indications of swamp-drainage, irrigation-systems, and dry-farming techniques; also trade and fishing. In EB IV/MB I, grazing comes somewhat more to the fore. The MB II settlements are the most extensive and the most related to trade-routes. LB brings significant changes, chiefly concentration in urban centers. This serious volume will serve well the goals of the TAVO project.

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## NUNTII PERSONARUM ET RERUM

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### Eleventh Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament

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The 11th Congress of the IOSOT will meet at Salamanca, Spain, from Aug. 28 to Sept. 2, 1983. A wide range of papers including not only exegesis but also theology, history, methodologies, and history of exegesis has been arranged. They include:

G. BRAULIK, *Die Wanderungen der deuteronomischen Sprache und Theologie*; W. BRUEGGEMANN, *The Theological Function of Gn 50, with Particular Reference to von Rad's Hypothesis on Wisdom*; CH. CONROY and T. ISHIDA, *1 Kg 1—2. Literary versus Historical Method*; J. S. CROATTO, *Micah. Hermeneutics and Methods of Interpretation*; H. DONNER, *Jesaja 56,1-8. Ein Abrogationsfall innerhalb des Kanon-Implikationen und Konsequenzen*; F. DREYFUS, *La condescendance divine (synkatabasis) comme principe d'herméneutique dans la tradition juive et dans la tradition chrétienne*; Y. M. DUVAL, *Jérôme et les Prophètes*; E. GERSTENBERGER, *Der Realitätsbezug alttestamentlicher Exegese*; T. ISHIDA, cfr. Conroy; O. KEEL, *Das Hohelied*; C. J. LABUSCHAGNE, *The Literary and Theological Function of Divine Speech in the Pentateuch*; J. LUST, *Messianism and the Septuagint*; L. MONSINGWO-PASINYA, *Is 19,16-25 et Universalisme dans la LXX*; G. PETTINATO, *Die philologischen Entdeckungen von Ebla und Ihr Ertrag für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*; R. POLZIN, *Biblical Studies and Russian Literary Theory*; J. ROGERSON, *The Use of Sociology in OT Studies*; ST. REIF, *A Root to look up?: A Study of Hebrew *šē' yin**; U. SIMON, *Ibn Ezra between Medievalism and Modernism: The Case of Isaiah 40-66*; A. STRUS, *Interprétation de noms propres dans les oracles contre les nations*; T. VEIJOLA, *Das Gebet in Literatur und Leben der Exilsgeneration*.

NB. Some of the titles are provisional or to be specified.

Apart from these major papers there will also be opportunities for short communications from other members of the Congress.



Inquiries or comment about the content of the Congress (offers of short communications etc.) should be addressed to the president:

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**Laureae**

Laurea in Re Biblica digni declarati sunt:

ABREGO DE LACY, José María (6.V.82). *Jeremías y el final del reino*. Lectura sincrónica de Jer 36-45 (Magna cum laude). Moderator: L. ALONSO SCHÖCKEL.

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| Inst. Religiosarum  | 6             | alumnae      |          | 6        |
| Ex statu laicali    | 19            | alumnae      |          | 11       |
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KIERNIKOWSKI, Zbigniew (12.X.81). *La crescita della comunità, corpo di Cristo* (Magna cum laude). Moderator: F. LENTZEN-DEIS.

MCCAFFREY, James (2.IV.82). *The Temple Theme in John 14,2-3* (Magna cum laude). Moderator: A. VANHOYE.

Doctores in Re Biblica renuntiati sunt, typis edita thesi:

ALETTI, Jean-Noël, *Colossiens 1,15-20*. Genre et exégèse du texte. Fonction de la thématique sapientielle (Analecta Biblica 91). xii-210 p. Rome 1981. Biblical Institute Press.

DEIDUN, T. J., *New Covenant Morality in Paul* (Analecta Biblica 89). xiv-289 p. Rome 1981. Biblical Institute Press.

GUEVARA, Hernando, *La resistencia judía contra Roma en la época de Jesús*. xviii-478 p. Meitingen 1981. Edición del autor.

MANICARDI, E., *Il cammino di Gesù nel Vangelo di Marco*. Schema narrativo e tema cristologico (Analecta Biblica 96). x-224 p. Roma 1981. Biblical Institute Press.

ORSATTI, Mauro, *Vergine perché madre di Gesù*. Spunti di proposta esegetica per Lc.1,34b. 61 p. Roma 1981. Pontificio Istituto Biblico (Estratto).

SIMOENS, Yves, *La gloire d'aimer*. Structures stylistiques et interprétatives dans le Discours de la Cène (Jn 13-17). (Analecta Biblica 90). xiv-262 p. Rome 1981. Biblical Institute Press.

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### Vetus Testamentum

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PIETRO BOCCACCIO, Direttore Responsabile

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